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Tunisia Still a Prelude

General Giraud may be right that the Allies will clean the Nazis out of Tunisia by June, but no American should deceive himself by thinking that this is going to be anything but a tough and bloody business, or that thereafter the invasion of Europe will be quickly victorious.

Consider for a moment what is involved. Here is one of the chief theatres of war—the only one in which at present the land forces of the British, the French or the Americans are engaged with the Germans. They have been fighting there since November, and the Germans have been able to muster enough well trained and equipped troops so that even at the cost of heavy casualties our advance has been painfully slow. Yet the territory in which the fighting is now going on is smaller than Long Island, and probably not over a quarter-million men are engaged on either side.

Imagine then, the job of transporting and supplying millions of soldiers, of opening two, three or more fronts in places where Hitler does not have to run the gantlet of Allied sea power. Imagine the tough fighting, the time consumed and the casualties when, after succeeding in landing our expeditionary forces on the Continent, we have fronts totaling thousands of miles and are fighting in a half-dozen Tunisias. Russia can tell us something about the job that will be. Anybody who thinks Germany will be a pushover after Rommel is defeated had better think again.

Stalin's Speech

American opponents of our collaboration with the Soviet Union should be effectively silenced on some points at least by Stalin's May Day speech. They have complained that Russia has not acknowledged the aid of her allies: Stalin speaks of the "gallant Anglo-American air forces," their "devastating blows on war industrial centers of Germany and Italy," and of the "victorious troops of our allies" in North Africa. The Soviet-haters have hinted darkly that Russia has been preparing to make a separate peace; Stalin asks, "Is it not clear that only the complete rout of the Hitlerite armies and the unconditional surrender of Hitlerite Germany can bring Europe to peace?" Commenting on the Stalin speech and the coöperation that Maj.-Gen. James H. Burns, executive officer of the British and American Joint Munitions Assignment Board, has been receiving in Russia, the Associated Press concluded that "relations between Russia and her major allies are at their best since the start of the war." We hope this proves to be true and see no reason why it shouldn't be.

From Hitler to Bermuda

The pessimistic forecasts about the results of the Bermuda Conference now appear to be justified. What was actually accomplished is not yet clear, but there is every indication that it is far from meeting the overwhelming size of the problem. That problem of course has to do mainly with the Jews in Axis-occupied

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Europe. Hitler is now engaged in a campaign of systematically exterminating them, men, women and children, with a demonstration of cold-blooded savagery very nearly unique in the annals of mankind. He has already butchered many hundreds of thousands; unless he is stopped, he will butcher millions more.

One way to help these victims is, of course, to win the war before he has time to carry out his plan; but another and far more hopeful line is to get his victims away from him. The governments of satellite countries, such as Rumania, have indicated they are willing to release some Jews, and even Germany might be induced to do the same. But the bitter truth is that Great Britain and the United States have thus far shown no willingness to let these potential refugees from murder go anywhere and settle down on a permanent and self-supporting basis. Emergency camps in North Africa or Ethiopia may temporarily take care of a few thousands or tens of thousands; but no government is likely to accept the financial burden involved in relief for a long period when the number of victims runs into hundreds of thousands. Great Britain won't let them go to Palestine, or to England, and earn their own livings; we won't let them come to the United States and take care of themselves, though for a long period we formerly absorbed a million immigrants a year, and our people were prosperous and had a minimum of unemployment while we did so.

If the Anglo-Saxon nations continue on their present course, we shall have connived with Hitler in one of the most terrible episodes of history. For our own sake, as much as for that of the innocent victims of this fearful man-made catastrophe, the British and American governments should reconsider their evident decision not to fight the Hitler mass murder on any adequate scale. There is still time for us to help; the need is great; if we do not do what we can, our children's children will blush for us a hundred years hence.

A Test Case

The breaking of relations between the United States and the Vichy government of Martinique at once raises some interesting questions for the future operation of United Nations policy. Apparently, the most probable result will be that the United States will take over the administration of Martinique and Guadeloupe. While this step would certainly be justified for reasons of defense, since the French islands lie in a zone vital to the defense of the Panama Canal, we feel that it would miss an excellent opportunity of uniting political with military strategy.

Our policy should be to encourage, wherever possible, civil governments in areas freed from Axis control. This could best be effected in Martinique through the agency of a de Gaulle administration, since the French sailors and the majority of the local population, if they are at all like the natives of other French territories, would favor the Fighting French leader. But, actually, a coalition government of de Gaulle and Giraud forces would have a better chance of winning the approbation of our State Department. In any event we now have an opportunity for furthering a rapprochement between de Gaulle and Giraud, an opportunity in which we should strive to avoid, and in large measure undo, the mistakes of North Africa. Here is a test case for putting United Nations policy into practice.

Effective Smearing

Friday, May 7, should be marked as a memorable day for Rep. John Costello and those Democrats and Republicans in the House of Representatives who have been party to the Costello Committee's drive to pin the "draft-dodger" label on able young New Dealers in recent weeks. For on that day two of the victims of this drive, David Ginsburg and Robert Nathan, were scheduled to report for active duty as privates in the United States Army. Ginsburg and Nathan both welcome a chance to fight for their country, and both of them would have been in uniform long ago except for their bosses' repeated demands that it was their patriotic duty to stay where they would be of most value, at their government desks. The loss of these two outstanding young administrators will be great. It will take a long time for someone else to learn as much as Ginsburg knows about the problems of price administration and rationing. The Planning Committee of the WPB, which Nathan heads, is losing its rudder at a crucial period in the determination of our production policies. Perhaps just as serious is the indirect result, the resignations of many other young New Dealers from essential jobs because they do not care to submit to the public pillorying to which the Costello Committee seems intent on subjecting them. Objective observers cannot in good faith tell these men to hold the line against the anti-Semitic, anti-New Deal attitude the Costello Committee has so clearly shown when there is so little sign of administration support for them. The responsibility for this dilemma rests with the President. True, he wrote a good letter on behalf of Ginsburg; but he has consistently refused to face up to the question of deferments in the federal service. Perhaps it is already too late; but a prompt and clear statement by him as to who is and who is not an essential government worker could still do something to retain the services of men we need more in Washington than at the front.

The Future of the FEPC

Since before Christmas, the President and a good part of the Cabinet have been trying to find someone willing to take over the red-hot driver's seat of the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee. The FEPC was left in such miserable condition last fall that no one has yet been found willing to take the job.

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At Christmas time the White House asked Dr. Will Alexander to do so; but Dr. Alexander thought the request came two years too late. He suggested a few possible chairmen, and many other lists of prospects were thrown into the hopper. It is no exaggeration to say that the post has now been offered to literally scores of men. Every last one has refused it. The joke around the Manpower Commission last week was that the chairmanship should be smuggled into Horace Heidt's "Treasure Chest" and palmed off on some unsuspecting winner in that telephone-radio lottery.

There are some well informed observers who feel that the difficulty in finding a suitable man is principally due to the fact that sights have been set too low. Top-flight men, for the most part, are not among those who have been offered the plum. We have heard of a few sensible suggestions ourselves which seemingly have not yet been considered. Harold Swift of the packing-company family, chairman of the Board of the University of Chicago, and well known for his fair policies with regard to Negro workers, is one. President Ernest Hopkins of Dartmouth College is another. It is imperative that the FEPC be reconstituted immediately, and desirable that it be returned to White House jurisdiction and established as a quasi-judicial body, leaving the administrative phases of the work to be carried on by the appropriate divisions of the Manpower Commission.

Mr. Clayton at the Food Conference

The agenda for the coming international conference on food and other agricultural products to be convened at Hot Springs, Virginia, May 18, presents an encouraging prospect because of its all-inclusiveness. It is hard to conceive of any phase of the problem which could be ruled out under the outline made public by the State Department last week. It calls for assembling the real facts on world requirements, on prospects for organizing world production to meet those requirements and on the methods of distribution necessary to move these products into consumption.

All this is to the good. In general, our delegation to this meeting of forty-three nations is well qualified to represent our country. We doubt the wisdom, however, of including Will Clayton in it. In private life, Assistant Secretary of Commerce Clayton is the greatest cotton factor in the world. His gins, compresses, and oil mills blanket our own cotton lands and reach out into many other countries. New York, Liverpool, Le Havre, Osaka, Shanghai, Mexico City, Bombay, Alexandria and most of South America are as familiar to Clayton, Anderson and Company as their home base of Houston, Texas, Jesse Jones's town. Cotton is one of the commodities scheduled for consideration at the coming meeting. It is unfair and unreasonable to ask Will Clayton, the cotton man, intent for so many years on carving out a world cotton empire for himself, to submerge his personal concerns and act purely in the interest of stabilization of the world's cotton production with world cotton requirements. We would not blame our allies of the United Nations if they looked askance at this member of the United States delegation when cotton comes up for discussion. We caution our readers to scrutinize the cotton recommendations, when they appear, for possible signs of American Centuryitis.

Unprepared for Peace

The National Resources Planning Board, whose report on Social Security and Post-War Planning was the subject of a recent New Republic special section, has just issued Part II of that report. The most important part of the contents of this document has to do with the "shelf" of public works available after the war as a means of stimulating employment when the making of weapons tapers off. The estimated total cost of such works now on the shelf, $7,695,000,000, sounds large, but it really is tiny compared with annual war spendings of $100,000,000,000. Even discounting the effect on industry of a return to civilian production, we ought to be ready with a program several times as big. What makes the situation still more serious is that of the projects included in the NLRB's total, almost half, or those costing $3,378,000,000, are

Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Haunted!

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without detailed plans and hence also without congressional authorization. It therefore would take months to get them under way, once the emergency arrived.

In view of this sorry lack of post-war preparedness, who is to do the job of filling the public-works shelf if Congress fails to provide funds for the board?

Labor and Inventions

When the Supreme Court held in a recent decision that a union could not be prosecuted under the anti-trust laws for refusing to permit the use of labor-saving devices such as paint-sprayers, it was not saying that policies of this kind are wise, or that our society can find no way to end them. In this and a series of other decisions of recent date, it was merely laying down the principle that in the anti-trust laws Congress did not intend to regulate union practices, and that if this end is to be accomplished, some other means must be employed.

This is not merely a technical legal judgment, but has a sound social policy behind it. We should not rely on the courts to police labor relations and collective bargaining. Many things are involved in a restriction of this kind which play no role in an illegal agreement of profit-seeking concerns to set prices or restrict output. Health hazards need to be considered, as well as the effect of the restricted device or practice on employment. It is possible in many cases for the employer to convince the union that the device in question will not injure the workers, if he on his part will adopt the proper compensatory measures. If legislation is necessary, it should be based on a consideration of the essentials of this special type of problem. In an environment of full and continuous employment, for instance—which can be brought about only through far-reaching governmental policies—much of the justification for restrictive practices of unions would vanish.

Nationalism

The defeatists, the isolationists and the former frank pro-Nazis are recasting their propaganda to center it on the idea of nationalism. It is a smart maneuver. As the Friends of Democracy point out in a recent bulletin, Nationalism is "one of the most dangerous bullet words," with a patriotic connotation but a strong and unsavory international logic. The national parties form the fascist international: the French Croix de Feu was loudly nationalist; so is the Falange; so was their partner and master, German National Socialism. It is noteworthy that Sen. Robert Reynolds' American Vindicator is now The National Record. Most of the indicted but not yet tried petty American fascists and those of their magazines which continue to be published are taking this slant. It is a fact to be kept carefully in mind by the Department of Justice and by all of us.

What to Do About Coal

THE COUNTRY now has fifteen days, starting with Monday, May 3, to try to solve the coal problem. John L. Lewis yielded in the most provocative manner possible, withholding his announcement until the last moment so as to try to ruin the effect of the President's speech, but he did yield, at least temporarily. With the pressure removed, and the facts now for the first time out in the open, public opinion can perhaps take a real look at the problem.

President Roosevelt's answer to Lewis' challenge was the only possible one. The mining of coal cannot be allowed to cease in war. The government does not have the power, either legal or actual, to force miners to work for private, profit-seeking employers if they elect not to do so. They might be starved into submission at the end of a long strike, but the strike itself cannot be permitted. Therefore it was necessary to take over the idle mines and call the men back to work as employees of the government.

This action still left open to Mr. Lewis the possibility of maintaining the strike against the government until he received assurance that the wage issue would be settled to his satisfaction, but in doing so his position would have been immensely weakened. He could not support the formula that the miners would not "trespass" on the employers' property without a contract—and ridiculous as this formula sounds, it is one of those slogans which offers men under pressure a feeling of standing on respectable grounds. It is a question how long the solidarity of the strikers would survive the consciousness that they were directly defying their government in time of war. And though soldiers may not be able to force men to work, they certainly could prevent pickets from keeping away from work any who wished to obey the President of the United States instead of the president of the United Mine Workers. Even so great a union can scarcely risk its future in such a struggle.

Once it is settled that there can be no strike as long as the government is in possession of the premises, Mr. Lewis is defeated. Whatever tribunal the dispute is referred to will be subject to the President's directive against wage increases beyond the Little Steel formula. The challenge directed by the miners' president against the constituted adjustment machinery and the principles which have been laid down for it will have been met. He might just as well have let the dispute be heard by the War Labor Board and have made a contract with the operators on the basis of its decision.

We cannot, however, allow our consciousness of Mr. Lewis' political game and his reckless leadership to blind us to the fact that the miners have grievances, and that in many respects they have behaved better than their employers. From the beginning of the nego-

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tiations, the operators have stood pat, hoping to profit from the fact that if a strike occurred, they would seem not to have been the aggressors and the government, because of its need of production and its anti-inflation front, could be counted on to suppress it for them. It is scarcely fair that men who have greatly varying distances to go from the pit mouth to their work places should be paid only for the time they spend at the face of the seam. And while the miners promptly accepted the suggestion of the Department of Labor that they negotiate on the basis of an annual wage, the operators refused even to consider it.

Though the government cannot without abandoning its stand against inflation grant the miners all that they ask, it can easily be a better employer than the private operators. What is just as important, moreover, it can get this chaotic industry in hand for really efficient war production. The confusions and inefficiency of coal mining under competitive private ownership have been a byword for a generation. If, under public operation, it can be rationalized to produce more coal more cheaply, eliminate cross-hauling and conserve the mineral in the ground, the President's order will have made a contribution to the war effort far beyond simply keeping the miners at work. In the end, reorganization of this kind would prove to be immensely more important both to the miners and the whole public than any of the immediate issues which precipitated the crisis.

In coal mining, there is great variation in costs between the better situated or more efficient mines and those with inferior resources or those less skillfully operated. The result is that the wage scale, if it approaches uniformity, must be far lower than the industry as a whole could afford to pay, while the more fortunate employers and owners reap large profits when business is active. Add to this, that freight rates have been so manipulated as to distribute the sales to various regions regardless of the real costs of either mining or transportation, and add to it the complication introduced by the combination of independent operators and "captive" mines owned by great coal users, and you have a thoroughly uneconomic industry.

Years ago it was clearly seen by analysis of the situation that the only good solution, from the point of view of both workers and consumers, was unification of the industry, probably under government ownership. The Guffey coal act, adopted as a substitute, was an irrational compromise which has solved nothing and has cost the country untold millions of dollars and man-hours of labor. We cannot, in the stress of the emergency, hammer out and apply a permanent solution such as we ought to have after the war. But government operation provides an opportunity to install temporarily some approach to a rationally managed industry.

It will be possible, for instance, if the government handles the bulk of coal sales, to allot the orders to those mines where a suitable product can be found nearest the market, and among these, to concentrate on the more efficient workings. This probably does not mean that employment would be decreased or that many even of the less efficient mines would be closed down, since the demand is enormous. It would be possible, however, to run the industry intelligently without penalizing either wages or the earnings of specific owners, since the receipts from sales could be pooled, and the customary charges against them could be paid as if no change had taken place in the present method of coal marketing and delivery. By a policy of this kind, the government could mine more coal than is mined now, and after paying all expenses and justified returns to property, could have left a tidy surplus for the war treasury.

It is not enough to mobilize the manpower of the miners for the war emergency. The mines should be mobilized as well, now that the crisis has put them into the government's hands. Doing so would be of great benefit, not only to the material needs of war industry and the treasury, but also to the morale of the miners themselves. One of their basic grievances has always been that their employers were running the industry in a slipshod fashion, being intent only on exploiting the natural resources of the country for their own pocketbooks. It was difficult for them to admit that working for such employers could be a patriotic duty. But if working for the government is to mean to them a higher obligation, they must be shown that the government is handling the mines, not as a trustee for the operators, but in the broad interest of the whole people.

The Poles and the Russians

LAST WEEK saw the first open break between members of the United Nations, when Russia "suspended" relations with the Polish Government-in-Exile. The immediate cause was the Polish willingness to believe the Nazi propaganda charge that 10,000 Polish officer prisoners had been murdered by the Russians near Smolensk in 1940—in territory which has for almost two years been in Nazi control. The Poles had asked for an investigation by the International Red Cross. The Russians quite properly observed that such an investigation in Nazi-held territory would be a farce. They charged the Germans with responsibility for whatever murders had been committed, and the Poles with "contact and accord" with the enemy; and they broke relations.

The press both in America and Britain has quite generally regarded this as a victory for Nazi propaganda. And in one sense it is—in that Goebbels undoubtedly rejoices in every additional strain on United Nations understanding. But to give exclusive attention to this aspect is a mark of superficiality. It seems difficult to

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believe that any mature political personalities, wise in the ways of war and propaganda, could possibly have fallen for Goebbels' crude and outrageous provocation.

That they took up the Nazi charges at all must therefore be set down to tensions of much longer standing between the Poles and the Russians, and to a long-range campaign of power politics on both sides. The accumulated hostility had been held in check only by the dire and immediate threat of German victory in the East, which would have meant the end both of Poland and of Russia. Now that the threat has been largely removed—and mainly through the efforts of the Russians, be it noted—the old hostilities come back.

One may surmise that the Polish leaders were using the atrocity charge as a way of gaining some support in England and America for the crucial contest over boundaries and territory which they know is coming. And one may surmise also that Russian indignation is political as well as emotional. It was not only a way of saying that the Russians mean business in their territorial claims. It was also a way of blasting what remained of the prestige of the Polish government among the other United Nations.

If anyone else has illusions as to the dominant political tone of that government, the Russians do not. In spite of the earlier stand by Premier Sikorski that Polish interests dictated collaboration with the Russians, the majority of the government seems recently to have been hostile to them. The larger number of the Polish-language papers both in England and America have also been hostile—the hostility going so far in one case that a second front in Europe was opposed as being disadvantageous to Polish interests, presumably because it would aid the plight of the Russians. The record of the Polish government during the whole past decade and more has not been a reassuring one from our standpoint. Even its opposition to Hitler was nationalist rather than anti-fascist.

Under the circumstances the Russian boundary claims made and make sense. The Russians themselves advance historical and legalistic reasons in support of those claims. Yet it is apparent that these are just dressing, and that the ribbed body of the Russian case is more substantial. History and legalisms aside, it is clear that Russia has a powerful reason for desiring a defendable belt of territory between her and her Western neighbors, as a matter of military necessity. If the Polish leaders were like the Czech leaders, the Russian claims would be pushed with much less insistence. But that they are not is one of the great facts of European power politics. Who will say with assurance that the future relationships in Europe are so clear, and the anti-fascist character of the European governments so inevitable, that the Russian attitude makes no sense?

In one way this first open break in the delicate unity of the United Nations has its salutary side. It has cleared the air, and brought out into the open the problem we must ultimately face—the responsibility of America, Britain and Russia for the political composition of the governments-in-exile and the new governments that will arise in the enemy countries. It is important for us to understand that the leaders of the present Polish, Greek and Yugoslavian governments, for example, are not the leadership material out of which a new or healthy Europe can grow. No non-intervention principle on our part can change that fact.

The immediate job of the American and British governments in this situation is, of course, to heal the split between the Russians and the Poles. But the Polish people and the present Polish government are not synonymous. There are strong democratic elements in Polish labor circles and in the Polish Socialist movement and among some of the Polish educators and social thinkers. There is real material for a Polish government that could work with Russia, and could play a democratic part in post-war deliberations—without being merely a puppet government for the Russians.

But beyond these perspectives are still broader ones. If the Poles acted out of long-standing hatreds, the Russians acted out of long-standing fears. Those fears are dictated by the picture of a Europe in which there will be a continuing struggle for power, rather than a strong structure of democratic world order. It was the breakdown of collective security at Munich and before which brought on the Nazi-Soviet pact. There will be other issues of collective security after the war. This time we must make certain that there is no breakdown.

Mr. Brown and the Rollback

PRICE ADMINISTRATOR PRENTISS BROWN's radio address of last week announcing a new "get tough" policy was received with remarkable silence by leaders of labor and consumers who have been struggling so fiercely to accomplish just that. Back of their silence was a great deal of skepticism and a little bit of hope that at last this might be the real thing.

Labor was temporarily tongue-tied because comments on Mr. Brown's statement would seem to require comments also on its motivating force, the mine strike, and on that score the policy was, the least said about it the better. Consumers wanted to be sure of their ground before applauding or hissing. To talk about a general "rollback" in prices was one thing; really rolling prices back, quite another.

By last week a good many people had learned to be wary of words coming out of the Brown office because they have been poured out in such volume and have been so full of contradictions. First, Mr. Brown is going to grade-label canned goods. Then he isn't. One day the OPA is going to hold the line on rents; another, it isn't. In his first speech on taking office as Price Administrator, Brown said he would have to let

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prices go up a little more. That is one promise he has kept to date. Now he tells us that he has changed his mind, that prices should not have been allowed to rise as they have in the three months since he took office, that those which have got out of hand must now be rolled back.

In the face of this three months' record, it is not difficult to understand the skepticism of well informed observers toward this latest statement on price-control policy. Before there is any real cause for celebration, a good many questions need to be asked and answered as to the method Mr. Brown intends to use to put his new four-point program into effect. He told the radio audience that he has ordered his staff to proceed immediately, to the limit of the OPA's powers, to: (1) extend price control across the board to every important commodity; (2) roll back the prices of meats, fresh and canned vegetables and coffee, among others; (3) establish specific dollars-and-cents prices for foods; (4) exterminate black markets and bring chiselers and racketeers to justice.

As we go to press, a good many of the key men on Mr. Brown's staff still have no clear idea as to exactly how Mr. Brown means for them to proceed. Is the new program predicated on the use of subsidies as a means of bridging the gap between consumer and producer prices? Most of the honest fighters for real price control contend that to talk about holding the line or rolling back prices without the use of subsidies is sheerest fantasy. Yet Mr. Brown has not made it clear if or how he plans to subsidize.

Questioning observers want to know, too, when we shall have a decision on the much kicked around issue of grade labeling. Mr. Brown did not mention that point in his radio address. He did, however, say that he would set specific dollars-and-cents prices on food and give every housewife a little book listing all prices, to carry along with her when she goes shopping. If grade labeling is not instituted, the "little book" will look more like a Sears, Roebuck catalogue, for it would, in that case, have to contain a specific price listing for each of the hundreds of individual brands on the market rather than a listing for Grade A, Grade B, or Grade C under each commodity shown. A grade-labeling decision would seem to be an integral part of a policy establishing specific dollars-and-cents prices. But Mr. Brown's own experts on quality standards have no idea what he intends to do on this front.

Mr. Brown's radio address provides for rolling back the "prices of meats, fresh and canned vegetables and coffee, among others." Sunday night, President Roosevelt, speaking to the miners, mentioned specifically only rolling back the price of meat. What other prices will be rolled back? And how far will they go?

Mr. Brown says that he will exterminate black markets and extend price control to even more commodities than are now covered; but he does not tell us whether he plans to revise his policy of refusing to ask Congress for the large appropriation required to set up and operate a real enforcement program. He does not tell us what he plans to do about that other much abused question of price watchers. Does he intend to ask the plain people to help make price control work? Or will he stick to the present policy of trying to hold down the cost of living by remote price control? To ensure compliance, every housewife must be mobilized. Workers must be given an opportunity to serve on every war price and ration board and on every price and rationing panel. But no amount of strict enforcement can be effective unless strong policies are the rule for everyday operation of the OPA, not just reserved for radio speeches on hot political occasions. Strong policies on price control can be made only by men thoroughly determined to spike inflation. Price Administrator Brown, in the three months of his administration, has surrounded himself with assistants who do not seem to reflect this determination. The AFL has accused Brown of being a "coddler of big business." His four-point program will not work if it is to be administered by officials such as the advertising man, Lou Maxon, or politicians like ex-Senator Herring, who believe a price-control program can be run by restricting the personnel to those who "have met a payroll or carried a precinct."

We believe that Prentiss Brown really meant what he said in his radio address last week. He has men in his organization who can help him work out the specifics required for putting his program into effect, if he will take them out of the doghouse where they have been confined since Leon Henderson's departure and give them a chance to help him do his job. Three months is a long time during a war. Prentiss Brown has very little to point to in the way of positive results from his three months' tenure. The general attitude of labor and consumers toward Prentiss Brown now is, put up or shut up.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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Giraud and the Jews

When Gen. Henri Honoré Giraud made the speech which was hailed with such satisfaction in Washington as proof of the rightness of our French policy, and in which he announced that, although he had decided to revoke Vichy's "Nuremberg laws," he would not restore the Crémieux decree, which Vichy had abrogated, Baron Edouard de Rothschild, in his capacity as lay leader of French and Algerian Jews, protested with "grief and indignation" against the General's decision.

"In regard to the Crémieux decree of 1870," Baron de Rothschild said, "it should be pointed out that its abrogation arbitrarily and illegally deprives of their citizenship French citizens, born on French soil, whose ancestors were citizens of France."

Before releasing his statement to the press, Baron de Rothschild sent a copy of it to the State Department. Ten days later he received a reply, signed by Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles.

"I felt so strongly that your statement gave a completely erroneous picture of the position of Jews in North Africa and of General Giraud's measures in their behalf that I immediately telegraphed a summary of it to our representatives there," Mr. Welles wrote. "The following comment, prepared in consultation with an unbiased specialist familiar with the various legal points involved, has just been received. I hasten to send it to you in the belief that you will not wish to allow an erroneous impression of the situation to prevail."

Mr. Welles then gave in full the text of the reply he had received from Algiers. It stated that Giraud had "abolished" the "laws relating to the Jews which were of Nazi inspiration," asserted that, while the Crémieux decree had been abrogated, "Jews born in France or descendants of parents born in France" were not affected, and revealed that "a procedure will be established whereby native Algerian Jews . . . may acquire citizenship" in "ample time" to vote in postwar elections. Throughout, Baron de Rothschild's assertions were called "untrue."

When Baron de Rothschild received Mr. Welles's letter he made a public reply to it, labeling "the specialist's strongly worded declarations . . . erroneous and inaccurate," calling General Giraud's decision to continue the abrogation of the Crémieux decree "a vicious discrimination made between men of European civilization, based uniquely on their religious affiliation, and branding it "a grave and permanent danger for the present and the future."

Here, then, is a complete disagreement about the significance of General Giraud's decision. Who is right and who is wrong?

Unlike other European colonial powers, France has pursued since the seventeenth century the wise and tolerant policy of assimilating to full French citizenship as rapidly as possible the native populations of her colonial territories. Those who are not French or students of French political institutions seldom realize how far this policy has been carried. It was first applied to New France, now Canada. But since 1848 it has been gradually extended to almost all the component parts of the present French empire. Thus the natives of Martinique, Guadeloupe and Réunion and the natives of French Guiana who were sufficiently advanced culturally to make effective use of the franchise were naturalized in 1848, while the natives of Senegal were granted the privilege of electing the local colonial council, though they were not given full citizenship. In 1880 full citizenship was extended to the natives of the South Pacific possessions who were prepared to adopt French ideas and customs, and in the following year the natives of the thirteen small colonies in India were granted the right to vote for local officials, on the same terms. In 1912 the natives of French West Africa and Madagascar were enabled to qualify for citizenship upon fulfilling certain conditions, and in 1913 the right was extended to the natives of French Indo-China.

Because Morocco and Tunisia were protectorates which continued to be ruled respectively by the Sultan and the Bey, the question of granting citizenship or a limited franchise to the natives of these two areas never arose. In the case of Algeria, however, it came up very early. Juridically and politically, of course, Algeria is a part of France. (Thus Baron de Rothschild is perfectly right when he speaks of the present Algerian Jews as "French citizens, born on French soil," and the State Department's "unbiased specialist" has either missed the point or is trying to evade it.) But in its social structure, and to a very large extent also economically, Algeria resembles the other colonies more than it does the mother country. The chief difference was that in Algeria the French administration was confronted with the problem of two highly developed groups of natives, each living under their own laws and customs: the Arabs and the Jews. Both practised polygamy and child marriage and both had their own inheritance and divorce laws. There was, however, one important difference between them: in general, the Jews were willing to renounce their local customs in return for French citizenship, whereas the Arabs were not.

Nevertheless, by the so-called Senatus Consulte, adopted by the government of Emperor Napoleon III in 1865, both alike were given the right of assuming

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French citizenship if they would renounce their local customs and accept French law. But the conditions were hard to fulfill, and very few natives, Jews or Arabs, took advantage of the opportunity.

The Crémieux decree, issued on October 24, 1870, made all the native Jews of Algeria French citizens at one stroke. They numbered about 30,000 at the time. Today the descendants of the original native Jews of Algeria number perhaps as many as 130,000, nearly all of whom were until Vichy not only native-born French citizens but the descendants of native-born French citizens. Except for their religion and their strong Algerian accent, they are indistinguishable from other southern Frenchmen.

Since 1870 the French Parliament has repeatedly tried to extend the same citizenship rights to the Algerian Arabs, but again and again it has met with opposition, both from the Arabs themselves and from the local Christian French planters and officials. The opposition of the Arabs was based in part on religious and cultural considerations and in part on economic necessity. In such a hierarchical society as that of the Arab, the men at the top enjoy extraordinary privileges and power and are naturally reluctant to relinquish them, as they would have to if they were obliged to abandon their tribal customs and become equal citizens before the law. But there is another reason why even some of the poor Arabs are unwilling to renounce their local customs, and particularly the practice of polygamy. Exploited both by rich Arabs and by white planters, the Arab peasant, or fellah, is so poor that he cannot afford to hire help and must depend on the labor of his wives to work his fields. If he had to get along with only one wife, he would be ruined.

Economic considerations also lie at the base of the opposition which Algerian colonial officials and white planters have always manifested to the Crémieux decree and the efforts that have been made to extend its benefits to the Arabs. The officials, already resentful of the competition of the Jews for positions of honor and emolument, fear even more the competition which would result if Arab candidates could also compete with them for local jobs, while the planters frankly and very profitably exploit cheap Arab labor and believe, quite rightly, that it would be much more difficult to do so if the Arabs should receive the status of French citizens. They have always opposed the Crémieux decree because its logical sequel is so obviously equal rights for the Arabs.

Yet, despite the opposition of the officials and planters, the native population very early obtained some measure of local representation even in Algeria. By a law of 1884, the Arabs have the right to vote in the municipal elections and to put up candidates for the Municipal Councils. They may also vote in the elections for the General Councils which govern the three departments into which Algeria is divided; but only one-fourth of the members of these councils can be natives, and while the French members are elected by universal vote, the Arab members are designated by the Municipal Council.

In addition to the General Councils, each department also has a Financial Delegation, which adopts the local budget and votes on local tax laws. Here the Arab delegates number less than one-third of the total and are appointed by the Governor-General.

Despite numerous proposals, it was not until 1919 that the French Parliament succeeded in liberalizing the conditions governing the admission of Arabs to French citizenship. According to the law of 1919, the applicant must be at least twenty-five years old, have only one wife, be able to prove that he has never been convicted of a crime, and fulfill certain other conditions.

Even this law, hemmed about with reservations as it is, was opposed and sabotaged by the local French administration, which has imposed conditions and made difficulties such that it has always been in fact more difficult for an Arab to obtain citizenship than the terms of the law suggest. Thus between 1919 and 1934 only 1,359 Arabs succeeded in qualifying.

Repeated efforts have been made by the French Parliament since 1919 further to liberalize the law governing the naturalization of Algerian natives, but these efforts have met with such opposition from the local administrators and planters that they have never come to anything.

When Marcel Peyrouton was Minister of the Interior in the Cabinet of Marshal Pétain, one of the first measures Vichy took against the Jews was to abrogate the Crémieux decree. The only persons exempted from this measure were those Algerian Jews who had been decorated for bravery in the two wars of 1914-18 and 1939-40; they remained French citizens. Otherwise the law, issued on October 7, 1940, reduced the native Jews of Algeria to the same subject status as the Arabs; but another law, announced four days later, specifically exempted the Jews from the rights enjoyed by the Arabs to become French citizens under the law of 1919.

Later Vichy laws deprived all the Jews in France of the right to hold government offices, including teaching positions, set a *numerus clausus* on the number of Jewish students in the universities and the number of Jews permitted to practise medicine and law, and closed many other businesses and professions to Jews, including banking, advertising, journalism, motion pictures, the radio and the antique business.

What General Giraud has done has been to revoke the later laws against the Jews while retaining the law of October 7, 1940, and apparently also that of October 11, 1940. Thanks to him, the native Jews of Algeria may once again practise the professions, attend the universities and even hold those public offices which are open to non-citizens.

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In practice, however, the situation seems to be somewhat different. According to C. L. Sulzberger, in a cable from Algiers published in The New York Times of April 1, "despite some slight improvement in the status of Jews since General Giraud's liberalizing decrees were issued, they are far from the status they had attained under the French Republic. If a Jew goes into the army, he enters a labor corps, not a line unit. He is still restricted in commerce and discriminated against in rationing."

Sulzberger goes on to say that while Jewish doctors and lawyers have been reinstated in their professions, "this, it would appear, arises more from the need for their services than from the French revolutionary principles of *'Liberté, Egalité et Fraternité,' especially since their freedom to function is limited to the duration of the war plus six months.*"

The final phrase is significant because it so clearly indicates the intention of making further changes in the status of the Jews, to their disadvantage, after their services are no longer urgently needed.

But the important issue of principle involved is the continued abrogation of the benefits derived from the Crémieux decree. Baron de Rothschild is entirely right when he says that "this abrogation arbitrarily and illegally deprives of their citizenship French citizens, born on French soil, whose ancestors were citizens of France." For General Giraud and his associates have absolutely no authority whatever to remake the laws of their country, and, with very few exceptions, the present native Jews of Algeria had been French citizens since birth, and derived their rights not directly from the Crémieux decree but from the fact that they were born of French parents on French soil. General Giraud's decision thus deprives them of rights which they have enjoyed all ther lives, and it deprives them of those rights *simply because they are Jews.*

Of course, Giraud's excuse is that Arab and Jewish residents in Algeria must be placed on the same franchise footing. But this is as though a group of reactionary American Southerners should decide to repeal President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and give as an explanation their desire to put the American Indians on the same franchise basis as the Negroes. Furthermore, though evidence is conflicting, it is by no means established that, in spite of Axis propaganda, there was much anti-Jewish feeling among the Arabs. According to Sulzberger's dispatch, "the two have got on fairly well together. By and large, they were tending toward coöperation."

Nor is it merely a question of principle which is involved here. Before the adoption of the Crémieux decree, the Jews, like the Arabs, had their own laws, their own courts, their own marital and inheritance customs. With the adoption of the Crémieux decree these disappeared. The Arabs still have these privileges but the Jews do not. Thus General Giraud's decision places the Jews of Algeria on an even lower basis than the Arabs, for it deprives them of French citizenship without granting them even limited self-government, such as the Arab community enjoys.

It has not yet been announced, if it has been decided, under just what conditions the Jews of Algeria may again become French citizens. Constitutionally, the law of 1919 ought now to apply to them. If it did, in theory at least, they would be able to resume their citizenship in three months by fulfilling certain conditions. But Mr. Welles's informant says that "in the near future a procedure will be established whereby native Algerian Jews who desire to become citizens may acquire citizenship." This can only mean that the law of 1919 has also been abrogated, at least in so far as it concerns the Jews of Algeria. In that case, the General's decision deprives the Jews even of the right enjoyed by the Arabs to become French citizens. If, later, the Jews are placed under the naturalization law of 1927, as modified in 1935—the only other existing naturalization law available—it will be five years before they can resume full French citizenship and ten years before they can hold public offices open to French citizens.

Furthermore, while the Arabs enjoy limited representation in the Municipal and General Councils and the Financial Delegations, the Jews have no representation in these bodies as Jews. Those who were elected to these bodies were elected as French citizens. When Vichy's abrogation of the Crémieux decree deprived them of their citizenship, they automatically lost their seats. Today they presumably have no representation at all, for although Giraud is said to have restored all public *officials* who were ousted because they were Jews, we have not been told even by Mr. Welles that he has restored the Jewish members of the elected bodies. Thus, in this respect also, General Giraud's decision apparently places the Jews on an even lower footing than the Arabs.

But what is perhaps most alarming of all is the assumption of legislative power implied in the decision. General Giraud might logically have announced that the territories under his control would return to the laws of the Republic. By announcing that some of those laws will be in effect and others not, he has arrogated to himself the powers of the French Parliament. And his decision to abrogate the Crémieux decree is contrary to every measure which has been proposed and discussed in the French Parliament since the decree was originally adopted. It represents precisely the solution sought by the reactionary local administrators and planters, in defiance of Parliament.

Furthermore, the fact that the native Jews of Algeria were the backbone of the Republican movement in French North Africa, and that depriving them of their citizenship may very well give the anti-Republicans a majority there, can hardly have been absent from the

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minds of those responsible for General Giraud's announcement. Nor is it without significance that the same Marcel Peyrouton who presided over the application of the original Vichy anti-Jewish law now presides over the application of its reënactment.

The conclusion is inescapable. It is that, profiting by the confusion of war, the men who surround General Giraud have seized the opportunity to confront the French people with the *fait accompli* which these men have long desired but have never before been able to achieve. Since they have always been out of sympathy with democratic processes, it is not at all surprising that they should thus have defied the expressed will of the French people.

What is surprising is that the State Department should be seeking to excuse and justify such odious, undemocratic and anti-Jewish procedures. VARIAN FRY

The Doctor Shortage

THE SURPRISE of an Albuquerque, New Mexico, housewife at getting a doctor six hours after she had telephoned for him was featured on the wires of a press association a few days ago. "Good heavens," she exclaimed, "imagine calling a doctor and getting him to come the same day!" Many people would share her surprise. The civilian doctor shortage, resulting from the induction of at least one out of every three physicians, has made it increasingly difficult during the last few months to obtain adequate medical care, or any medical attention at all, in many communities.

Especially is this true of war-production areas with their mushroom trailer camps and squalid shanty towns. Lacking proper sanitation facilities, they also lack the medical supervision necessary to forestall threats to individual and community welfare. Tales of children born with difficulty in trailers without aid of doctor, nurse or trained midwife are commonplace. An illness in a family living in quarters that often compare unfavorably with those of devastated Europe threatens not only the family but the whole town. This was the case in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, where, in a war workers' settlement, children's diseases became epidemic—not only virtually unchecked, but almost unknown because local doctors did not travel the fifteen or twenty miles necessary to visit patients.

Every state is short of doctors; some are pinched more severely than others. States in which peacetime medical coverage was inadequate seem to be the hardest hit by the departure of physicians for service. Some have been allowed to oversubscribe their quotas to such a degree that their population is virtually uncared for. Many doctors not in uniform complicate the tragedy by fighting to keep things as they are because they profit from the status quo. Official organized medicine, from county medical societies to Dr. Morris Fishbein's American Medical Association, presents a solid front against necessary changes in medical practice designed to provide good medical care for all. The conscientious individual doctor is in a poor position to judge where his services are most needed; the few liberal physicians' groups are weak in numbers and far outbalanced in power by AMA mouthpiece organizations.

Indiscriminate recruiting of pediatricians and obstetricians leads to what is perhaps the most serious menace to general health. Child-health and well-baby clinics throughout the country have been raided. In downstate Illinois, for example, many have been threatened with closing. Reliable prophecies indicate a slow but steady rise in the infant-mortality rate, considered apart from the rising birth rate. Combined with the decimation of public-health personnel, the "grab everything" recruiting policy that allowed this situation to arise has put our national health in acute danger of general breakdown.

This dangerously sloppy handling of medical manpower has left the home front shaky. Sick or injured people cannot work in war industries any better than sick or injured soldiers can fight on the battlefronts. While medical care has been provided generously for the services, the vast civilian army has been neglected to the point where it threatens the entire United Nations' war effort. What can be done to minimize the effects of sickness and injury on the home front? The question that is most vital to any segment of civilian wartime economy is how to keep essential day-to-day activities going well enough to ward off collapse and consequent panic.

The problem is not so much one of too few physicians as of few physicians badly distributed. Obviously, the quickest way to counteract this is by shifting doctors from areas that have a more or less adequate supply, like New York City, to others where doctors are needed, like Mobile, Alabama. If necessary, orders to move may have to come by federal-government fiat. Present means of getting relief through the United States Public Health Service are too complex and subject to misuse by entrenched medical interests. Requests for such relief must come from the community affected, through the state medical society. The defense area of Valparaiso, Florida, last year found itself with 5,000 people and no doctor. No doctor qualified to practise in Florida, and willing to move there, could be found, even after long search. Not until the search had failed did the State Defense Council petition the State Health Department through the medical society to

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ask the USPHS to assign a doctor to the area. Months passed before the process was completed.

A new government agency might be necessary to supervise the relocation of physicians, or existing USPHS machinery could be enlarged and strengthened for the job. The USPHS has succeeded in moving some doctors from one area to another, though at a cost of endless red tape and lost time. Relocation might be turned over to the army or the navy, if that is in the interests of efficiency.

In any case, technical obstacles now in the way of transfer will have to be removed. Chief of these are the state licensure laws. Not all states have reciprocal agreements permitting doctors to practise in one or another without reëxamination and relicensing. Today, a doctor can be moved only within his own state or to a state linked by reciprocal agreement. Modification of licensing laws, at least for the duration, is imperative. Better yet would be the enacting of a long indicated federal licensing law to supersede all state laws. Even in peacetime, this would protect residents of states where licensing requirements are unexacting or outdated. As a last resort, a nationwide draft of doctors for civilian practice would be in order. The government would tell doctors just where they should practise, in uniform and under subsidy if necessary.

One way to get the most from the doctors left to care for civilians is to organize group-practice units. Even in towns where doctors are comparatively numerous, group practice would increase their effectiveness. Group practice allows doctors to work in teams, each concentrating on his own specialty; ten men working together get more done in less time than do the same ten men working competitively. One such unit has worked successfully for years at the Bassett Memorial Hospital in Cooperstown, New York, where the hospital forms a logical center for doctors practising coördinated medicine. If there is no hospital, doctors could pool their equipment and efforts in much the same way that farmers pool theirs at planting and harvest time. Wherever possible, hospital care of the sick is preferable. This is particularly true of boom towns, where houses are crowded, sanitation bad and the population relatively mobile. Many of these towns urgently need new hospitals or additions to existing ones. But in a large number of cases the WPB has withheld priorities for new hospital construction, whether the requests came from private individuals or from government agencies.

The record shows that members of prepayment plans have received better than average medical care. Opposition of organized medicine to group practice is slowly dissipating; not so its opposition to group practice combined with prepayment for medical care. The recent Supreme Court decision convicting the AMA under the anti-trust laws for its attempt to obstruct operations of the Group Health Association in Washington, D. C., established a moral precedent rather than a legal one. Properly operated prepayment plans—medical insurance policies—paying off in service rather than in cash, stimulate proper use of medical facilities. You don't hesitate to call the doctor when you know that his bill has been paid in advance.

Prepaid medical care and group practice combined make possible some preventive medicine. Disease is best controlled by preventing it. While we have the science and techniques to practise preventive medicine, most doctors, even those who want to, seldom get a chance to use their knowledge. Present practice methods leave little room for it, even though experts agree that expansion of preventive services is one of the main tasks of modern medicine.

What we need is a national health program, worked out by both government and private agencies and aimed at preserving health rather than curing disease—in other words, a program of active rather than passive public health. This is especially necessary now because of population movements within the country and because of wartime threats to national health. Important figures in military medicine, medical researchers and laymen working in the field have been warning for months that the "disease pattern" in the United States is likely to change. Troops returning from overseas are expected to bring with them new parasites and bacteria; ships arriving from devastated areas may carry invisible cargoes of destruction. We cannot remain unprepared nor rely on the public-health services alone to do the job. Much more active community participation in public-health programs to meet both national and local problems can help to lessen the dangers.

Planning and reorganization on new patterns are not enough. Existing media must be made to work. AMA opposition to intelligent use of industrial medical facilities creates an uneconomic waste in production centers where full medical staffs are maintained by industry in plants. Medical "ethics" keep these industrial doctors in their plants no matter how desperate the physician shortage may be in the vicinity. One of the most flagrant examples of medical-society pressure to preserve this condition took place at the Kaiser shipyards at Vancouver, Washington, where Kaiser's doctors were bluntly threatened with induction were they to treat families of Kaiser workers.

Even if the AMA's iron line is adhered to, and industrial medical staffs are kept completely separate from the community, management in places where the medical manpower shortage is acute have a responsibility to establish medical units to care for their employees. Take, for example, Mobile, Alabama. The Procurement and Assignment Service allowed so many doctors from the area to leave for military service that the physician-population ratio dropped to 1:4,000. At the same time, the two chief employers, the Gulf Shipbuilding Corporation and the Alabama Drydock Com-

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pany, employed only one full-time and two part-time industrial physicians to care for 60,000 workers. Absenteeism was as high as 14 percent daily, labor turnover was so great that 300 men were hired to get 100 on the job. Attempts are now being made by government agencies to insist on proper medical care for war workers before war contracts are let. This policy must be made explicit and given teeth, with fines or withdrawal of contracts as penalties for non-compliance.

Medical education is another matter of basic policy to be considered. Bona-fide medical and pre-medical students are now deferrable until their training is completed. Those qualified are to participate in army and navy training programs under the same conditions as other students. Some medical schools admit only students acceptable to the government. The curriculum has been accelerated—whether for good or ill is debated—and needy students can draw on small government funds and some private funds. Upon graduation, students become part of the regular services, leaving few new additions to the depleted ranks of civilian physicians.

Inextricably tied up with this is the question of our 8,000-9,000 woman physicians. Because of the past unwillingness of the military to consider using them, some medical schools have been restricting even further their quotas of women students. The University of Arkansas Medical School actually announced a policy of excluding women students for the duration. The policy was later rescinded, and recently women doctors won their long fight for recognition by the army and navy. The question is not whether women physicians can be used at the fighting fronts. They are needed in increasing numbers on the home front. The touchy question of unofficial quotas on Jewish, Catholic and Negro students should also be aired. We need as many trained doctors as we can get.

Fears of reactionary medicine for post-war practice cannot be allowed to interfere with our getting them. Even though the United States has been for years the best-doctored nation in the world, we have not had enough doctors to care for our people—nor have we been able to pay for decent medical care under the outmoded fee-for-service system. Results of the first draft, when at least 35 percent of those called were rejected for physical deficiencies, are sufficient proof.

The question of health is, in the last analysis, our fundamental wartime social problem. Ability to supply the answers has long been out of the hands of the rank and file of medicine—more so since, as the young men go, even numerical control of medical societies passes to entrenched and highly conservative older men. Pressure for solution must come from those most concerned—labor, community groups and management. If the problem of supplying enough good medical care is partially solved now, we shall be well on the way to answering one of the major questions of the postwar period.

BEKA DOHERTY AND ARTHUR HEPNER

Communists and Liberals[1]

THE HARRY BRIDGES CASE presents us with something more than a perplexity as to why Attorney General Biddle should have gone out of his way at this particular time to overrule his own immigration board and order deportation.

It presents both the government and the Communist Party with an opportunity, that calls first for action by the party. It is the opportunity to make at least an approach to the dissolving of the distrust and contempt with which American democrats and liberals view the party, a distrust and contempt that color our attitude toward the Russian government itself and so become obstacles to coöperation with our greatest ally in war and our potentially most powerful ally and promising collaborator in peace.

As the record stands—and Bridges' warmest partisan cannot say it is not a full and complete record—he has been found to be a member or affiliate of the Communist Party and that party has been found to be an organization having as one of its objects the forceful overthrow of the United States Government. It is an administrative finding and it has not yet passed the scrutiny of the courts. But there is very great doubt that Mr. Biddle's finding of fact will be overthrown, not because the reasoning of Judge Sears and Mr. Biddle is free of fallacy and prejudice but because of the general reluctance of the courts to go behind any finding of fact by responsible administrative officials when it is based on a full hearing and a voluminous record.

What I find in talking over the Bridges case with persons of liberal bent—persons very much like Mr. Biddle—is that while they regard his order as ill timed and unfortunate, they are inhibited from any very active protest by the belief that Sears and Biddle did shrewdly and honestly cut through the technicalities of evidence to the truth that Bridges was and is in fact and to all intents and purposes a Communist, and this regardless of whether he holds a membership card. And the fact that they did so gives these liberals—in spite of their disagreement on the question of policy

[1] The late George P. West, who died early in March, had worked on newspapers in San Francisco, Chicago and New York and for the United Press as White House correspondent. For eight years he was associate editor of The San Francisco (Scripps-Howard) News. This article was one of the last he wrote and was found among his papers.

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and expedience—a certain satisfaction, the satisfaction felt by any honest person when a truth that has been smothered and obscured is permitted at last to emerge. It is a satisfaction that expresses their deep resentment of the Communist technique of conspiracy and deceit, and they feel it even when they feel a deep admiration for Bridges as an otherwise honest and courageous and enormously effective labor leader.

It goes back of course to Lenin in the days of the Tsars, when he frankly counseled his followers to work their way into labor unions and any and every sort of democratic organization and there lie and conspire by pretending to share the limited objectives and the faith in democratic non-violent procedure of those whom they wished to influence and ultimately control. It goes back, that is, to a European and a Russian technique of revolutionary agitation that grew out of ruthless suppression.

It goes back, here in our own country, partly to the Communists' utter subordination to Moscow and its methods, partly to their romantic illusion that they too were engaged in a perilous revolutionary enterprise destined to reach its culmination in the near future. But also—and this is the truth that needs to be emphasized—to a very large measure of provocation by biased and lying newspapers and by demagogues in and out of the American Legion.

Little as we like it, Communist conspiracy and deceit had at least the justification that no man anxious to lead his fellows or even to survive in freedom could avow admiration for Soviet Russia or membership in the Communist Party without sacrificing that leadership and that survival.

And the things we have loathed about the Communist Party in America must be seen as, partly at least, the product of dominant forces in American life for which we cannot escape responsibility—the intolerance and ignorance and sheer malevolence personified by the Palmers and Daughertys and Hardings, the Hearsts and McCormicks and Lorimers, the Burnses and Meanses, the plug-uglies and labor spies and provocateurs, the subservient police and district attorneys, the professional juries, the professional vigilantes in and out of the Legion.

Bridges has as little of the sneak and the conspirator about him as any man I ever knew. The records of his two hearings are impressive for his frankness and outspokenness. He acknowledged the help his longshoremen received from Communists in San Francisco at a time when they looked for help in other quarters in vain. He affirmed his willingness to go along with the Communists on any policy and in any enterprise where he believed they were right. There was nothing snide or deceitful in his declarations of faith. If he is or was a Communist, I am convinced that concealment of the fact must have been irksome to him in the extreme and that he submitted only through a deep faith and conviction and an unwillingness to break ranks in an enterprise that, he felt, required discipline to the point where the individual must subordinate his own views, his own conscience even.

I shall not try to make a moral justification of Communist deceit. I have always loathed it and predicted that it would be self-defeating. I have always felt that it sacrificed the most precious thing in American democracy—the simple, honest, evangelical goodness of our earlier reform movements, led by men who, like the Abolitionists and the Wobblies, risked and gave life itself to affirm their faith, who believed that "the masses" were to be trusted and confided in and won over, not fooled and cajoled for their own good. I don't seek to justify. I seek to understand the Communists in the light of my discovery, made long ago, that this is a very imperfect human race and that God moves in a mysterious way his wonders to perform, and also from first-hand knowledge that the Communist "religion" enlisted in this country men and women of the finest character and sincerity, including several of my acquaintances, who see the sacrifice of that frankness which always before had seemed to them their integrity as the final sacrifice for a great cause, a sacrifice hardest of all to make, and made only because they had convinced themselves that it had become a luxury, a special privilege of the conservative and the secure.

As for Harry Bridges, I've never known whether he was a Communist or not. For years I hoped he was using them and I accepted the Landis findings as conclusive. Later there came the Soviet-Nazi pact and I was keenly disappointed to see Bridges joining in denunciation of the "imperialist" war and even supporting the North American Aviation strike. I approved thoroughly of President Roosevelt's action in sending troops to break that strike and I should have approved of criminal prosecution of the Communists if they had continued to attempt the sabotage of our defense against Nazism.

But I remained constant in this: Bridges had been a superb leader of workers, and his leadership had revitalized the labor movement of the entire Pacific Coast. It had, on the plane of immediate benefits, brought security and comfort and health, and opportunities for the children, into thousands of humble homes, including the homes of any number of devout Catholic families. Bridges himself had shown a courage, a persistence, a character, a resourcefulness worthy of the greatest admiration. And he had been subjected to the most vicious campaign of abuse and persecution ever waged in this country in my time against a leader whose first and last offense was to disturb the arrogance and profits of business men who were neither generous, honest nor patriotic in any respectable meaning of the word.

The invasion of Russia and all that has happened since have changed the world profoundly. They have

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changed our feelings about Russia and the value of the Russian enterprise in socialism. And so they have changed our feeling about the value of the goal for which American Communists sacrificed even their integrity.

We have learned and are learning. Will the Communists learn? I should like to see the party issue an official statement admitting its policy of conspiracy and secrecy, justifying that policy as well as it can, and then condemning it and repudiating it for the future. I should like to see this statement in the form of a frank bid for reappraisal on the part of the American public, on the part of those who have condemned them. I should like to see it in the form of an appeal for cooperation in the future, between Communists and New Dealers and democrats and progressives in general, based on frank disagreement about some things and agreement about others—and an appeal for a coöperation here in America that would fit into a program of coöperation and frankness between America and Russia. And I'd like to see the Bridges case presented as the opportunity for all concerned to signalize and dramatize a new era of frankness and understanding, with sins forgiven on both sides.

GEORGE P. WEST

Mr. Justice Rutledge's First Opinion

A MONDAY OR SO AGO, while in Washington briefly, I sat down in the dignified hush of the United States Supreme Court on the chance that while I was there might come the historic moment when the court would clear its conscience in the religious-freedom cases, now reargued and awaiting fresh decision. That moment did not arrive, but another one did, and what it held was, to this layman at least, both intensely interesting and broadly significant.

I refer to the presentation of his first opinion by Mr. Justice Wiley Blount Rutledge Jr., newest member of the supreme bench. In the stringent space conditions the event received relatively little attention in the nation's press, although The New York Times wisely put the decision on its first page the next day. I therefore pass along the facts of the case and its conclusions in the thought that they will be news to many of the readers of The New Republic.

Is a shipowner liable for injury to one of his sailors when the sailor is ashore on leave and not "in the service of the ship"?

This was the question before the court. It was a question of the extent of an employer's responsibility for his employee and so a legal question of degree. Yet it also was in its very nature a social question on which everyone, however unlearned in the precedents of maritime law, might have his views.

Messman David E. Jones of the SS Beauregard, owned by the Waterman Steamship Corporation, went ashore at Port Richmond, Philadelphia, on the night of January 16, 1941. As he proceeded through the pier all street lights were put out, with the result that in the darkness he fell into an open ditch at a railroad siding. His suit for maintenance and cure and lost wages was dismissed by the Federal District Court on the shipowner's motion, the ground being that Messman Jones was not on the ship's business when he was injured. The Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit (New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware) reversed the lower court and held the steamship company liable.

Somewhat earlier the same issue had come up in the Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit (New York, Connecticut and Vermont) in the suit of Pedro Aguilar, member of the crew of the SS E. M. Clark, against the vessel's owner, the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. While his steamship was docked at Carteret, New Jersey, April 18, 1938, sailor Aguilar obtained leave to go ashore on personal business. On the way back but when still a half mile from his ship, he was hit by a motor vehicle and injured. He sued the shipowner for $10,000, set as the expense of maintenance and cure. Here the Federal District Court sided with the company and the Court of Appeals affirmed the dismissal. Each took the position that there was no liability for injury when a seaman was ashore on leave.

Strangely enough, this question had never before arisen in the Supreme Court, although our highest bench has handled countless maritime cases, and the doctrine that the shipowner was responsible if the injury occurred while the sailor was "in the service of the ship" was admitted by all. With the issue decided one way by the Second Circuit Court and the opposite way by the Third Circuit Court, it became the duty of the Supreme Court to resolve the head-on conflict.

Under a little-known but long-standing practice of the Supreme Court the newest Justice is accorded the courtesy of choosing for his first opinion the case which most appeals to him from among those argued in the period of his first conference with the other supreme jurists. If Mr. Justice Rutledge's selection of this case tells us much about him, his handling of the question and his conclusions tell us still more. For by his first test on the Supreme Court we see clearly in him a jurist who knows that life gives shape to law, that law does not exist in a vacuum, that the function of the law is to provide the ever responsive rules by which all may enjoy fuller, richer lives.

What Mr. Justice Rutledge did was to extend the area of the shipowner's liability so as to cover these injured sailors even though they were on shore without

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duty. But he did not do it as one who merely happens to have the power to do so. He did it after a painstaking review of maritime law and old precedents and an understanding of the life of the seaman and the unique place that shore leave occupies in his existence. It is high praise, but as I reread the opinion and observed its organization and literary style, I was reminded the more of the late Mr. Justice Cardozo and the way that brilliant scholar-jurist enlarged the boundaries of the law in response to the pressure of social forces. The comparison may rest on such quotations as these:

> Unlike men employed in service on land, the seaman, when he finishes his day's work, is neither relieved of obligations to his employer nor wholly free to dispose of his lesisure time as he sees fit. Of necessity, during the voyage he must eat, drink, lodge and divert himself within the confines of the ship. In short, during the period of his tenure the vessel is not merely his place of employment; it is the framework of his existence.

Again:

> The restrictions which accompany living aboard ship for long periods at a time combine with the constant shuttling between unfamiliar ports to deprive the seaman of the comforts and opportunities for leisure, essential for living and working, that accompany most land occupations. Furthermore, the seaman's unusual subjection to authority adds the weight of what would be involuntary servitude for others to these extraordinary hazards and limitations of ship life.

And then:

> Men cannot live for long cooped up aboard ship without substantial impairment of their efficiency, if not also serious danger to discipline. Relaxation beyond the confines of the ship is necessary if the work is to go on, more so that it move smoothly. No master would take a crew to sea if he could not grant shore leave, and no crew would be taken if it could never obtain it. Even more for the seaman than for the landsman, therefore, "the superfluous is the necessary . . . to make life livable" and to get work done. In short, shore leave is an elemental necessity in the sailing of ships, a part of the business as old as the art, not merely a personal diversion.

So finally:

> The voyage creates not only the need for relaxation ashore, but the necessity that it be satisfied in distant and unfamiliar ports. If in those surroundings the seaman, without disqualifying misconduct, contracts disease or incurs injury, it is because of the voyage, the shipowner's business. . . . Accordingly it is but reasonable that the business extend the same protections against injury from them as it gives for other risks of the unemployment.

Nor would Mr. Justice Rutledge be too severe with reference to "disqualifying misconduct" perhaps. For he notes that "only some willful misbehavior deprives the seaman of his protection, and that while the traditional instances have included "injuries received as a result of intoxication," this view "has been qualified in recognition of a classic predisposition of sailors ashore."

The new Justice's first opinion, however, is important for other reasons than its definite extension of maritime law through a keen appreciation of the sociology of the sea. It tells us what manner of man it is that President Roosevelt has appointed in effect to cast the deciding vote when the eight other members of the present Supreme Court divide four to four, as they did on more than one close question after the resignation of James F. Byrnes.

It is also interesting in that it shows all the sitting Associate Justices appointed by Mr. Roosevelt in agreement without the concurrence of the Justices appointed to the court by other Presidents. For Mr. Chief Justice Stone, first appointed by Coolidge, dissented, and Mr. Justice Roberts, appointed by Hoover, did not participate. This decision in behalf of Messman Jones and Crewman Pedro Aguilar is the work of the *Roosevelt Supreme Court.*

And here is where the real significance of this opinion lies. For it presents the Supreme Court as the citadel of the spirit for which the President fought courageously in his first administration—the spirit and the will to use law and government to improve the lot of ordinary men and women. The last fox holes of the New Deal are being routed out in the executive and legislative branches under the impact of the war, but there remains a fortress at the apex of the nation's judiciary. As they weigh and decide behind their marble ramparts, it is given to the black-robed Justices to keep the twin flames of humanity and freedom burning in the winds of repression and intolerance and rancor. The importance of that guardianship is one that cannot be overstated. It is vital to democracy's cause.

IRVING DILLIARD

Desert Camp: California, 1943

The tents are a statement in geometry, white as pyramids
in the moonlight of the year.
The mountains squat in their black silence, the tumbleweed
sleeps on the great circle of sand;
The metallic herd settles in the tank park; only the sentries like slow pendulums sever the shadow and the
light.
The war is a quiet and terrible nightpiece.

The dawn is quicker than a lizard, the wilderness is broken
by wheels and voices.
Deeply the engines rage; from the four borders men converge in the vast business of death.
Battalions crawl on the desert's lonely skin; girls are waiting in mirage, the cool known rivers always flowing
home.

Idly at noon the young soldier discovers the shell; it was
lost by the sea in its flight to the distant mother.
He is stunned by the sudden appearance of space and time;
centuries by thousands lie in his palm.
He inherits the purpose of the moving sea, the change
continuous from water to land.

DON GORDON

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Washington Notes

The Republicans' Record in Congress

EVERY NOW AND THEN somebody gets good and sore at the New Deal and says, "Oh well, the Republicans couldn't possibly be any worse. Let's vote for them in 1944."

From the international aspect, under Willkie or Stassen leadership, the thought is certainly attractive. Mr. Willkie's splendid book is selling up to 700,000 copies over the country; an article by veteran Republican apologist Russell Davenport, in the current issue of Fortune, seeks to show, from another angle, that the Republican Party is not isolationist at all; it is just that it hates Wilson and Roosevelt so much.

It is my belief, however, based on the past twenty-year record and coming down to votes as late as last week in Congress that if Wendell Willkie were elected President he could not carry the members of his own party with him into practical international coöperation. I doubt if most readers fully realize what may be at stake when they discuss the chances of a Democratic revolt in the South, the prospect of defeating Roosevelt on a fourth term or the odds on Republicans coming to power on the coat-tails of an internationalist like Willkie.

Let us look, for a moment, at the record. At the beginning of the war there were five votes of crucial importance: the first arms-embargo-repeal vote; passage of Lend-Lease; adoption of Compulsory Service; extension of training under Compulsory Service; the second arms-embargo-repeal vote.

On every one of these five vital measures the Republican majority, not in one chamber but in both House and Senate respectively, voted "No." Not one of these five measures could have passed if left to Republicans. Their war record at the outset could not possibly, under the circumstances, have been worse.

But, it may be—and is—argued, Republicans have learned their lesson with time. I believe that this is a dangerous fallacy.

This past week the Senate passed the little-noticed Panama concessions bill, righting certain injustices involved in payment for augmented Canal defenses and military sites. The Senate passed the bill thirty-seven to nineteen. Every one of the nineteen negative votes was cast by a Republican.

This past week the House Ways and Means Committee reported out the reciprocal-trade-pact bill, fourteen to eleven. The official breakdown of votes is not released but reporters learned the results. Ten of the eleven negative votes were Republican.

The Republican record on the reciprocal-trade pact speaks for itself. Post-war international collaboration depends on reducing trade barriers, the object of the Hull pacts. Since 1934 there have been, all told, six congressional ballots on this matter, three in the House, three in the Senate, coming when the act was introduced in 1934, when it was renewed in 1937 and 1940, respectively. On every one of these six ballots the majority of Republicans voted "No." This was not a close vote. I have lumped together House and Senate Republican votes on the six ballots. The aggregate is: 15 favorable, 388 adverse votes. And now the matter has started all over again. The debate shows without a doubt that some Republicans believe just as strongly in the Chinese-wall tariff policy of Smoot-Hawley as they ever did.

The Associated Press has just taken two polls of the Senate. On April 18 it asked whether Senators favored pledging the country now to support a post-war international police force. Republicans voted six for, sixteen against. (Democrats favored the proposal.) On April 24 the AP asked Senators whether they favored reciprocal-trade-act retention: Republican Senators voted seven for, twelve against. (Democrats voted for continuation four to one.)

Not any one of these points alone, but the accumulation of all of them together, tells the Republican story. For example, if a new League of Nations treaty comes to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee after this war, carrying with it mankind's hopes for a better world, it will find the Republican side of the committee almost 100-percent, dyed-in-the-wool, isolationist. The sole mild Republican internationalist is Wallace White of Maine. The others include Capper, Vandenberg, Shipstead, Nye and Davis, the pick of the isolationists of the whole Senate.

The record of Republican congressional leaders is not much better. McNary voted against modifying the Neutrality Act, against allowing American armed forces to leave this hemisphere, against extending draftees' service beyond six months. In the House, Joe Martin, Republican floor leader and ex-chairman of the National Committee, voted against the administration on eight out of ten test votes on preparedness and foreign policy.

It is my belief that a man like Willkie would not be able, as President, to lead his party into international collaboration on the only basis upon which effective collaboration must rest: mutual trade concessions. Willkie headed off Chicago Tribune candidate Werner Schroeder as Republican national chairman, but he could not block Harrison Spangler, the compromise chairman who belongs to the Governor Bricker school: "Let us collaborate with Europe," as Bricker recently said, "but without commitments."

There is the record. There are plenty of exceptions, of course. But it could be made even stronger by dozens of first-hand, personal experiences with Republican congressmen who read The Chicago Tribune and fear the outside world.

Mr. Davenport tells the story in Fortune of how his party turned its back on enlightened internationalism and the tradition of Root, Hay, Theodore Roosevelt, Hughes, Stimson and others, and—mesmerized by hate of Wilson—switched to isolationism that is still poisoning its membership in Congress.

To sum it up, let me quote a little statement from Herbert Hoover. Back in October, 1920, Hoover was out campaigning for Warren Gamaliel Harding. Thirty-one eminent Republicans, you remember, had just promised that the best way of joining the League was to vote for Harding. Mr. Hoover spoke at Indianapolis:

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The important thing is that the Republican Party has pledged itself by its platform, by the action of the majority in the Senate, by the repeated statements of Senator Harding, that they undertake to put into living being the principle of an organized association of nations for the preservation of peace. The carrying out of that promise is the *test of the entire sincerity, integrity and statesmanship of the Republican Party.*[1] I do not believe it would fail, or I would not be here at this moment.

"The sincerity, integrity and statesmanship of the Republican Party . . . " I do not think I should try to comment on Mr. Hoover's verdict.

Washington T. R. B.

Mishmash

NOW I'M READY to vote for the booby prize: I have seen "Mission to Moscow." Before the movie starts Ambassador Joseph E. Davies says, "There was so much confusion and prejudice about Russia that I felt it was my duty to tell the truth about the Soviet Union as I saw it." Any truth that has ever been told about Russia heretofore now has this obstacle to face. We didn't deserve that Mr. Davies should have met the Warner Brothers.

At no point does this truth about the Soviet Union show what communism is as an ideology, a way of living, what victory in this war would mean to it and to those of us who are allied to it. The movie can only condemn fascists because they gobble up neighboring territories and make soldiers of their children. This is a peculiar picture, because it makes no effort to have you understand the things it talks about. Its two revelations about Russian communism are that Soviet women use cosmetics and that Soviet workers get paid extra for extra work—hurrah for the Revolution! Nowhere do you get any idea of Russians who refuse to be conquered either by Hitler or by purges, and one of the most ingenious oddities of the film is that it can make one-sixth of the earth's surface seem like a cranny at Warner Brothers'. Not one character emerges. The faces are expensive, finicky duplicates of famous faces and still not any good (not nearly so good as Madame Tussaud's). The only character who comes off at all is Oscar Homolka's Litvinov, and that as potently as a characterization of Babe Ruth would if it barely got across the idea that he played baseball. The ideas the characters mouth are banal, unlikely and crude.

There are many interpretations, right, left and indifferent, as of the period of 1937-38 in Russia, which were two years of the purges and the Moscow trials. It's indicative of this movie that for the history of the period it makes up its own facts. For instance, "Mission to Moscow" says that on his way to Russia for the first time Mr. Davies presented Roosevelt's disarmament plan to Schacht, whereas this actually took place much later. It crams what were four main trials into one trial at which there is the preposterous spectacle of Radek, Bukharin, Yagoda and Tukhachevsky confessing cheek by jowl. The illusion created is that the bloodiest purge in the history of man consisted of one trial at which sixteen men were convicted. It has Krestinsky, at the trial of Radek and Pyatakov, accused as their go-between with Trotsky, replacing the actually accused Romm, possibly because Davies interceded in Romm's behalf—take it easy, Mr. Dewey. So you have the police chief (Yagoda) being convicted at the trial for which he had produced the evidence; the general (Tukhachevsky) who was arrested, tried secretly and shot within forty-eight hours, telling the world and Mr. Davies about his crimes; and the main thing all of these men were tried for—the assassination of Kirov—not mentioned. The movie's reason for all this distortion is to prove that the trials, terror and bloodletting were entirely a fifth-column plot among Trotskyites, Germany and Japan: Davies wrote in his book in 1941, "None of us in Russia in 1937-38 were thinking in terms of fifth-column activities. All of us paid comparatively little attention to that side of these cases."

Mr. Davies' book was a stale, innocuous melange of the fewest and most obvious facts that Soviet interpreters, left, right and center, had been reporting on Russia for years. Its perceptions were on a level with a Fitzgerald travelogue: everyone was "attractive and a fine type of," everything in Moscow was beautiful, old. I mention this because the movie fights continuously and always to its death to make Davies out a major-league prophet in a minor-league world. There wasn't an event of the years 1937-42 that Davies didn't predict, understand or analyze for the world, while around him everything was intrigue, doubt and confusion. It manages to do this at the same time it perpetuates the appalling caricature of "naïve American abroad." Those wonderful types of ambassadors—Lord Chilston, Shigemitsu, Coulondre, Grzybowski—that Davies found, and wrote about in his book, he finds in the movie are wasting their time at billiards and misinterpreting everything.

The movie, as a movie, is the dullest imaginable. The extent of its device is to have Davies talk or be talked to. There is a prologue five minutes long, pompous and queasy, in which the real Davies explains his motives in writing his book and authorizing the movie; the first incident of the movie itself is the identical situation, but now with the Huston-Davies explaining his motives for, etc. The mechanisms are as redundant throughout. To describe Davies' tour of Russian heavy industry, one device is used five times without break—Davies talking to a mechanic, a coal miner, an engineer, a farmer—until you expect a flashback to the October Revolution and Davies talking to Lenin (obviously like this: "Just what do you think of your chances, Mr. Lenin? I'm a capitalist myself. . . .") President Roosevelt chats at his desk with Davies as though he were trying to make himself heard over the uproar in the Yankee Stadium. The movie is even incapable of expressing the wonder and excitement of Russian singing and dancing, something which should be about as easy as falling off a log. Perhaps worst of all is to see the Warners, in need of a Polish figure, asking themselves what Pole Americans know; that is why you will learn in "Mission to Moscow" that *Paderewsky* was the Pole to see about peace in 1938.

This mishmash is directly and firmly in the tradition of Hollywood politics. A while ago it was Red-baiting, now it is Red-praising in the same sense—ignorantly. To a democratic intelligence it is repulsive and insulting.

MANNY FARBER

[1] My italics.—T. R. B.

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Good Anti-Nazi Theatre

Tomorrow the World, by James Gow and Arnaud d'Usseau. Ethel Barrymore Theatre, April 14, 1943.

THE LATEST ANTI-NAZI PLAY is better than most of them have been because it comes round to the attack with a better invention or creative framework. The story is about a boy of twelve who has been brought over from Germany to be adopted by an old student of his father's, whom the Nazis have killed. The play is taken up with the transitions that the suspicious, warped and perverse mind of the boy goes through in contact with the American family and life in a large university town in the Middle West. The writing, never obvious, is never pointless or dull.

There is not a great deal to say about "Tomorrow the World" except that the situations are not forced, and that the whole mood remains sound and simple. It is no small achievement merely to avoid talkiness, preaching and clichés. What happens and what is felt in this play convey the points or propaganda. That sounds very easy, but it is a remarkable fact how rarely the theatre, when it deals with causes or sets out to make a plea, can turn its matter into anything alive. Even capable dramatists when they come to the serious spots are apt to lose in tone or are apt to sound unreal and self-conscious.

A portion of this diffused effect of genuineness and good sense comes from Mr. Elliott Nugent's directing. In his own acting—he is not in "Tomorrow the World"—Mr. Nugent carries the simple, realistic or natural method about as far as it can go this side of genius and inspiration. He has accomplished here in his directing a somewhat unusual degree of unity of style and approach throughout the company. Miss Dorothy Sands, as the professor's sister, Mr. Ralph Bellamy as the professor, Miss Shirley Booth and little Miss Joyce Van Patten—who was the one I saw of the two young actors alternating as the small daughter—all gave excellent performances. And yet, though it may seem ungrateful to say so, it is quite possible that if Mr. Nugent's directing had not been so persuasively sensible and smooth and every-day, the play itself might have gained in places. I feel certain that a number of the more intense passages of the story and of the characters' reactions on one another would have profited by more warmth, flexibility and let-go. Which is another way of saying that this play, without a great deal of change in the performance, could have a richer texture and content.

The bright light of the occasion, as has been widely acclaimed, is the remarkable performance by Skippy Homeier of the Nazi boy. It is an astonishing performance any way you take it, and is steadily and consistently sustained. Seami, writing in the civilized Japanese theatre of five centuries ago and more, observed that plays in which child characters occur, even if well done, are always apt to make the audience exclaim in disgust, "Don't harrow our feelings in this way." By the same token esthetically, we are always discovering wonders among child actors, though as a rule acting is not really involved at all; the appeal is otherwise. In the case of Skippy Homeier we get the real thing.

STARK YOUNG

A Communication

"Psychological Disarmament"

SIR: The American administration is promoting post-war planning in every field as actively as Mr. Churchill has discouraged it. Mr. Wallace's speeches on this subject have been worthy of his creative mind. For many years I have read everything that came from this distinguished and generous personality, always with admiration and nearly always with assent. But in his broadcast from Washington on December 28 there was a passage about the reëducation of Germany which filled me with dismay:

> The United Nations must back up military disarmament with psychological disarmament—the supervision or at least the inspection of the school systems of Germany and Japan to undo as far as possible the diabolical work of Hitler and the Japanese war-lords in poisoning the minds of the young.

Mr. Wallace was not speaking casually. He may have been endorsing the ideas of unofficial planners who propose to put the whole educational system of Germany, and indeed the whole of her intellectual life, under the control of a High Commissioner and an entirely foreign Council appointed by her enemies.

That any hope for the future depends on the reëducation of the younger generation of Germans is a proposition no one disputes. The real crime of the last ten years was not the creation of a barbaric despotism, not the floggings, the tortures and the murders, not the extermination of the Jews, not even this wanton war against four-fifths of mankind. The real crime was the reversal of all the moral values on which civilization rests. Of that, all these things were the inevitable consequences. It was done by Hitler and the Nazi Party deliberately and systematically as a conscious reaction against the older Catholic tradition, no less than the modern outlook which dates from Renaissance, Reformation and Enlightenment. It made an end of intellectual integrity; it scoffed at humanity; it raised brutality to the seat of honor among the Nordic virtues. In the youth it deliberately inculcated a state of mind and a code of behavior to which gangster and fanatic contributed in equal parts.

Many of these perverted youths lie dead in Russia, and many more will die. Some may be irreclaimable. But others, perhaps the majority, are even now on the edge of disillusionment, fighting against the growing conviction that they have been misled. Who will restore them to civilization? Who will give them back the traditional heritage they were denied? Who will change their moral values? Who will fit them to think and feel as Europeans?

There are Germans who can do it. There are brave men in the underground movement who never ceased to struggle. There are many more, less heroic, who did not struggle but kept their faith in silence. There are priests, like the Bishop of Berlin, who sometimes dared to speak. There are exiles like Thomas Mann. Finally, there are teachers who worked under the Weimar Republic. Many were dismissed. Some went to Dachau. But many, especially the

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women, survive. I can recall happy hours spent among them during the most miserable inflation years. They showed me the schools they had fitted up by organizing voluntary unpaid work and the bits of equipment they had bought with their own dwindling salaries; they described their enlightened experiments in educational method, and once, in Hamburg, they introduced me to their Soviet of Parents, which fathered the elementary school and mothered it, sometimes by hard manual work, in every conceivable way. I had a friend in a little town in Baden who had started a *Volkshochschule* and conscripted me one evening to help him in explaining Shakespeare (in translation) to a most friendly class of young working men and women. I recall another day spent in the workers' section of Frankfurt University, which the Republic generously supported and the brilliant Socratic performance of one of its teachers of economic history who showed his pupils how to think, not by lecturing but by a dialectical process. He may have been smashed at Dachau. But some of these men and more of the women are still alive. They must reeducate Germany. No one else can.

If we set about it in the way Mr. Wallace proposes we shall wreck every chance of any happy mental evolution, discredit all that is best in Germany, and prepare a disastrous reaction against us and our ideas. If we wish that an ideal of international solidarity should revive in Germany, the fatal course is to impose it. We are the enemy. We bombed Germany's cities. We shall come with blood on our hands. It had to be. We were defending Europe and ourselves. But will the German mother whose husband fell to the machine gun of one of our planes regard the English or American High Commissioner who controls her children's education as anything but an enemy? Imagine the response of the more intelligent lads in an upper form when a new teacher begins to criticize Nazi doctrine and to preach internationalism. The unfortunate man may be perfectly sincere: these may be his lifelong opinions. But the boys will see in him only a hireling of the enemy, appointed by us to keep Germany weak and enslave her mind. Worse still, not only will discredit fall on the teachers we appoint; those we dismiss will become, each in his own circle, national martyrs. Of course there must be a drastic purge; but Germans must carry it out. Of course new men must be found and the devoted teachers of the old day restored. But again, Germans must do it.

When first I met these floating ideas my response was one of undeserved contempt. "This is childish," I said to myself. "If we control the schools, of course Germans will circumvent us outside the schools. They will teach a militant patriotism in the Youth Movement. They will publish heroic Nordic books for boys and histories for young men which may be rather more readable than any of our censored school books written to order. They will write lively *feuilletons* and serial novels for the daily press. Nor will they forget the wireless and the films." On further inquiry I find that I did these planners an injustice. Some Allied experts have foreseen all that I foresaw. Their precautions are ample. I can detect only one rather grave omission: they have forgotten to provide for any control of the German churches. Everything else is tight and tidy. The High Commissioner of the United Nations is to control the whole of Germany's intellectual life, from the universities to the movies. He is to censor and may confiscate German books, newspapers, periodicals, the wireless and the cinema. What is suggested is no temporary military censorship, but a permanent control designed to eradicate all doctrines which the High Commissioner may consider militaristic or anti-social. In particular he is to be empowered to ferret out all the standard Nazi books, collect every copy of "Mein Kampf," and reduce them to pulp. He is to supervise not merely the Youth Movement but every organized activity of Young Germany. On the positive side it is suggested that he shall organize on a big scale translations from our current literature. The enlistment of teachers from the United Nations is to be promoted. Finally—the true Vansittart touch—university professors exiled by the Nazis are to be discouraged from returning: the really dangerous Germans are the "good Germans."

This is a program for the enslavement of the German mind. First, we appoint men to teach Germans what we, their enemies, wish them to think. Next, by a censorship, we forbid them to reply to our teaching or react against it. This is a sacrilege against reason. No social philosophy deserves the name of a rational system of thought unless it may be freely confronted on equal terms by its contraries. Unless I may oppose to it fascism, racialism, communism at will, your Anglo-American capitalist democracy is merely an imposed dogma. As an essay in educational method the plan is contemptible. A good teacher with a class of senior lads to instruct, so far from confiscating their copies of "Mein Kampf," would help them to analyze this ill written book till they perceived its insanity. The wickedness of this scheme is equaled only by its stupidity. Every self-respecting German will retaliate by boycotting us, our language, our books, and unhappily our ideas as well. Every German who helps us will be branded as a deserter and a quisling. I am not sure how long the planners propose that this system shall continue. Some seem to have a decade in mind, others a generation. Long before it comes to an end it will have provoked the most furious reaction in European history. The best to hope for is that this may turn in a communist direction, but it is more probable that it will evolve as a violent, racial patriotism, conceivably in an even uglier form than the Nazis invented. I do not assume that Mr. Wallace belongs to this school of thought. But his brief outline was based on its central idea.

I will resist the temptation to inquire into the record of international achievement which justifies us in appointing ourselves Germany's schoolmaster. The stern sacrifices Britain made to international duty at Munich and in Spain? The risks America shouldered for Europe during the two decades between Versailles and Pearl Harbor? Britain's devotion to the ideal of racial equality during two centuries in India? I am more curious to discover the reasons which underlie a set of ideas rather widely current in Allied circles. Are they merely lack of imagination and an excess of self-esteem? The key to it lies in the assumption that the Allies will themselves undertake for a prolonged period not merely the military occupation of Germany but its actual government—even in a matter so intimate as education. Why? Do I guess aright if I suggest that the chief motive is the fear of social revolution? Left to them-

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selves, the Germans might form a People's Front: there might come into being an alliance between left-wing Catholics, Communists and perhaps some Socialists; conceivably they would socialize heavy industry and the Junker estates. That would never do: the Steel Trust has other views. Since as yet we have no German Darlan ready to our hands, we propose a period of crown-colony government. At all costs Europe must be made safe for capitalism. It will not work. We shall tire of it—but only after we have antagonized half a continent, thwarted its will to create and distorted its natural evolution.

These planners have thought too narrowly about education. Of course schools and universities have their importance, and so have books, films and radio. But more important than all these is the environment, national and international. The planners perceive, truly enough, that the danger lies in what they call "anti-social" thinking. How does a boy or girl come to think socially? My answer is as simple as it is confident. By growing up in a genuine society. Societies are of many sorts and sizes. Most of us get some glimpse of what a true society can be, perhaps in a big family, perhaps at school, or in a trade union. Even the Nazis had their definite conception of what a society should be, and they made societies of several grades on this evil model. These rested on the Führer principle, absolute obedience, the denial of equal rights, and the claim of the stronger racial group to dominate and exploit the rest, subject to no law save its own interest and the will of its Leader.

The success of any process of reëducation depends on building round this younger German generation a society, or rather a hierarchy of societies, resting on civilized principles. What societies matter most in the modern world? First the factory, mine, farm or newspaper in which a man works. Second, the municipality and the national State. Third, the Great Society, the international environment within which a nation moves—suffers and acts, gives and receives. We cannot build up for the Germans the industrial and national societies in which they will live. That must be their work. We shall help them negatively by destroying the military power which defended the Nazi industrial and political structures; but that is the utmost we should do. If we try, indirectly, no doubt, to perpetuate capitalism in Germany, we shall renew the life of a very faulty social form. A capitalistic factory, here or in Germany, is a totalitarian society, based on unequal rights and subject to the will of an owner-Führer. Men doomed to work in such a factory will never become truly social beings. It is an environment which represses most of them and for wrong ends. My first contention is, then, that in this field we must leave the Germans free to experiment and create. But to build the Great Society round them will be primarily our work. If a hedge of steel confronts them; if they feel themselves neither comrades nor equals, but objects submissive to our policy, then again they will feel and act in an anti-social way. They can become good members of the international society only if it is built, not on the balance of power, but on a federal equality in right and service. We cannot by censorship and control eradicate anti-social ideas from their minds. We can do it only by building round them and for them a good European society.

London H. N. BRAILSFORD

The Bandwagon

In passing a bill to legalize child labor in Pennsylvania, the senate said the measure was meant to solve the child-care problem by giving the kids something to do while their mothers are away at war jobs.—*From The Exchange, an official semi-monthly publication of the United Brotherhood of Telephone Workers of Northern California and Nevada.*

Other dispatches from Berlin say Dr. Karl Silex, managing editor of the Deutsche Allegemeine Zeitung, has been quietly removed from his editorship after a dispute with Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels over editorials on President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill, that Dr. Goebbels found "too objective."—*From The New York Times.*

California Surges On

BILL TO FORCE RACE EQUALITY IN STATE FAILS

Assembly Refuses by Two Votes to Pass Act Imposing $100 Fine Minimum on Violators

WORK BEGUN ON WHIPPING POST AMENDMENTS

Author of Bill Studies Correct Weight of Lash and Number of Strokes for Offenders

—*Heads and subheads on two articles in adjoining columns in The San Francisco Examiner.*

Total-War Department

Twenty-seven dogs were weighed, measured, had their temperatures taken and heard gunfire on the roof of Hotel Commodore yesterday as part of their army physical examination previous to induction into service at the War Dog Training and Reception Center, Front Royal, Va.—*From The New York Herald Tribune.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping.—THE EDITORS

Correspondence

A Federal Guarantee for Life Insurance

SIR: Two years ago there were 65,000,000 individual policyholders holding $117,000,000,000 face amount of life insurance. In an investigation before the so-called "Monopoly Committee" in Washington at that time, testimony revealed that during the ten years ending December 31, 1939, 141 life-insurance companies retired from the field, and that policy-holders lost heartbreaking millions of dollars' worth of life insurance through the financial difficulties of many of these companies. The policy-holders who lost their insurance had little or no opportunity to "investigate before they invested." It was even more difficult for them to determine the safety of their insurance than it was for the depositors of many banks that failed prior to the time the government insured deposits up to $5,000. In most instances the wage-earner, lacking experience or facilities, was hit the hardest. Although the business done by life-insurance companies is interstate, the laws that govern them are enacted by the several states, with consequent varieties of good, bad and indifferent safeguards and supervision—and with forty-eight separate lobbies set up to influence legislation in the interest of the companies and not of the policy-holders.

Some time ago in "My Day" Eleanor Roosevelt wrote that many small wage-earners go without food to pay life-insurance

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premiums. It is a foregone conclusion that the federal government should protect the policy-holders who make such sacrifices when they invest in companies that use the United States mail and that do an interstate business.

All of us who carry life insurance know that, despite company rates that are based on the 1868 mortality table, the dividends now paid by even the strongest companies have been reduced almost to the vanishing point. In the definite realization that life insurance is almost always the very last reserve living policy-holders have, and about all that widows, orphans and dependents receive after supporting heads of households pass away, and looking forward to post-war conditions as well as to our changing economy, it is high time for the public to insist on federal legislation that will protect its life insurance. It seems to the writer that just as the government sets up machinery to guarantee the safety of bank deposits, it should also set up machinery to guarantee the payment of life-insurance policies in limited amounts. Such action would place life-insurance companies under federal supervision in much the same manner that banks now are, and it would be just as consistent. The federal guarantee of the payment of life insurance-policies would, I believe, win popular favor.

Los Angeles, Calif. WILLIAM KLEIN

For War-Winning Ideas

SIR: As a frequent reader of your magazine I have noticed that several of your readers have submitted ideas on how to improve the winning of the war.

It might be worth while for all of your readers to know that there exists in New York an organization known as Victory Center, 745 Fifth Avenue, which functions as a clearing house for war-winning ideas. I am one of the voluntary consultants of this organization, and I know that every idea submitted is carefully evaluated and the good ones forwarded to appropriate agencies for action.

Columbia University, New York City THEODORE ABEL

They Voted against Dies

SIR: In the April 19 issue of your magazine, on page 507, may I call your attention to an error made by your reporter T. R. B., who stated that "[Representative] Hays, like Fulbright, voted in favor of continuing the Dies Committee." The reporter himself seemed to think that this was inconsistent with the attitude of these two members. As a matter of fact, the reporter was in error, as both Mr. Hays and myself voted against the continuation of the Dies Committee. Otherwise, I think T. R. B.'s analysis of the new Congress is correct.

Washington, D. C. J. W. FULBRIGHT

A Light Once-Over

SIR: That feller Manny Farber, he sure is an inspiration when he puts down all them words about what's wrong with the movies. They hain't got no depth, he says, and he shore is right. Us folks working in the film factories all these years, we can step right up and fix things, now we know what's the trouble. Main thing is we hain't got his vision and his private telephone connection with the Creator, so we cain't talk with his kind of finality and absolute authority. Fact is, it'd be a great thing for The New Republic if he cut loose and come out here and scrambled around for a spell, showin' folks how to git under the surface. The Hays Office and the OWI and the Church and Aunt Minnie and the Producers' Association shore would take to him, jest set up and listen, and maybe we wouldn't have to do so much fightin' to make a fair film onct in a blue moon. By the way, is Mr. Manny Farber any relation to Manny the Barber over on the MGM lot? MGM's Manny kin give a mighty slick shave, too, an' if he cuts you he don't nick out a chunk no bigger than a quarter.

RKO Studio, Hollywood, Calif. DUDLEY NICHOLS

Not the Translator

SIR: In connection with Miss Deutsch's review of some of the "Poets of the Year" Booklets [The New Republic, March 29], and in fairness to Mr. Charles Henri Ford, I should like to correct here an error appearing on the jacket of the Baudelaire volume. Mr. Ford chose the poems for "The Mirror of Baudelaire" but did not translate them. The translations were made by William Candlewood.

Norfolk, Conn. J. LAUGHLIN

The Melancholy Muse

SIR: If ever I am tempted to discontinue my subscription to your magazine, it is when I read one of the offerings that you label "verse." This is not because I do not like poetry; it is, on the contrary, because I have a profound love and respect for poetry. It has often occurred to me to wonder how a presumably clear-thinking journal, which would be the first to exclude inchoate, pretentious and empty jumbles of words in its prose departments, can presume to pawn off verbal monstrosities upon the long-suffering public under the caption of poetry.

Take, for example, such lines as the following, from Vincent McHugh's "How to Make a Poem" in your issue for April 12:

> To wake walking to be being to seek between
> To live long and devour demons collide
> At the junction of the measures and the mean
> Where the lions lounge in their pride . . .

Paraphrasing a remark by Churchill, may I not ask, What do you think we readers are? Do you suppose we can be taken in by such silly, garbled, involuted, affected, murky nonsense? Do you think we are lacking in all intelligence, all sense of discrimination, and all reverence for what is truly fine and notable in poetry? It is barely conceivable that, being unable to distinguish a poem from a mental aberration, you have printed the above in the delusion that it is a contribution to literature; but, considering that I have always found you sane in your prose departments, I should prefer to believe that it slipped in during a moment of preoccupation, perhaps plucked from the trash basket by the indiscriminate hand of the office boy.

Mill Valley, Calif. STANTON A. COBLENTZ

From The New Republic Mail Bag

From an anonymous correspondent: "When Walter Duranty reviewed Ambassador Davies' "Mission to Moscow," he praised it very highly. He wished, however, that Mr. Davies had not told the Russians so many, many times that he was a capitalist—for reasons of tact if not of good taste. I think of that every week when I read The New Republic. Why must you constantly reiterate that you are liberals? I, and many others, read The New Republic not because it is liberal but in spite of it."

The National Wartime Conference of the Professions, the Arts, the Sciences and the White Collar Fields, will be held Saturday and Sunday, May 8 and 9, at the Hotel Commodore in New York City. "For those of us who work in these fields," the announcement says, "the National Wartime Conference can be a decisive step in attaining our full role and responsibility. It will enable us, together with government representatives, to define the potential contributions of our trained personnel and to identify the obstacles which stand in the way of their full and effective use."

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Books in Review

Thunder over Aldanov

MARK ALDANOV'S NOVEL, "The Fifth Seal,"[1] deals with the great theme of revolutionary disillusionment. Its prophetic title is taken from the sixth chapter of Revelation: "And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God and for the testimony which they held." But there are no real martyrs in the novel, only squirming victims, and there is nobody who suffers for the word of God. Its moral atmosphere was summed up for me by a sentence describing the household of Vermandois, a famous French writer who is almost but not quite its hero. "An old, querulous *femme de ménage*," Aldanov says, "performed an indifferent, listless task of cooking for him." The book also is old, querulous and embittered. It reminds you of T. S. Eliot's "Gerontion," his most dispirited poem:

> The goat coughs at night in the field overhead;
> Rocks, moss, stonecrop, iron, merds.
> The woman keeps the kitchen, makes tea,
> Sneezes at evening, poking the peevish gutter.
> I am an old man,
> A dull head among windy spaces.

Of the six principal characters in the novel, four are old men of a peculiarly unhappy type. Instead of transferring their interests to something or someone destined to survive themselves—a principle, an institution or simply their own children—they have become more and more self-centered. Three of them used to believe in communism and the future, but now they believe in nothing except indigestion and high blood pressure. They hope for nothing except to survive a few more years, in spite of Stalin and the doctors—the two enemies who stalk through their uneasy sleep. They have no friends. Kangarov, the Soviet Ambassador, always smiled when he spoke—"But his brown eyes never smiled, instead they were filled with constant uneasiness; at times they turned a bright yellow and became angry and mean." Wislicenus, the old revolutionist, had come to hate the whole world and himself—"Luxury irritated him; so did almost everything else." Vermandois, the Communist sympathizer, was "one of the five or six men whom any educated Frenchman was certain to mention in enumerating the great living writers of France." But there is nothing in the text to indicate that he was distinguished for anything more than his facility in using words and juggling ideas; his emotions are those of a peevish invalid. Only one of the old men is presented as a sympathetic character. He is a former Tsarist general who is now serving the Soviets, partly through Russian patriotism, but also—and this is a point that Aldanov is careful to explain—as a result of his incurable moral cowardice.

There are two young people who intrude into this home for the aged. One of them is Nadia, the Ambassador's secretary, with whom most of the old men are in love. It seems that the author intended her to be charming, but either he failed or else her charm was Russian and untranslatable. The other is Alvera, a congenital syphilitic, who dies on the guillotine for killing and robbing one of his employers. It is hard to say why he was introduced into the story, unless the author was trying to draw a parallel between his congenital syphilis and the moral syphilis which—Aldanov says—afflicts all the Russian leaders.

For three months before it was published, American Communists and other friends of the Soviet Union tried to frighten the Book-of-the-Month Club into withdrawing "The Fifth Seal." Their efforts seem to me foolish and misdirected. Obviously the Club would refuse to be coerced, although there were sound arguments against its choice. Obviously the public controversy would create a wider audience for the book, which otherwise might have been dismissed as one of the Club's mistakes. And obviously the Communists were setting a bad example, since we seem to be entering a period of reaction when any moves toward censorship are likely to be turned against the radical press.

On the other hand, the four Book-of-the-Month Club judges have given the newspapers a rather unconvincing defense of their choice. They say that they regard "The Fifth Seal" as one of the most distinguished novels submitted to them in many months. "Readers will see at once," they add, "that its sole interest is the humorous delineation of character in the best tradition of Tolstoy and Turgeniev, and that its author's gift in this direction is rare. Quite obviously, to anyone but a zealot, the novel has no political interest whatsoever. To describe it as 'anti-Soviet' is about as unjustifiable as to call 'Pickwick Papers' anti-English."

The humorous delineation of character is something I failed to recognize in "The Fifth Seal." There is a great deal of satire and ridicule, some of it effective, but that is something quite different. Humor is based on sympathy for others or depreciation of oneself; its aim is to amuse. Satire is based on hatred, and its purpose, according to the Oxford Dictionary, is "denouncing, exposing or deriding vice, folly, abuses or evils of any kind." In spite of the statement issued by Dr. Canby and his colleagues—I do not question their good faith but only their judgment—it seems to me that Aldanov's principal purpose in writing this book was to denounce, expose and deride the Russian revolution and all its fruits—political, social and merely human. Old Wislicenus says, at a moment when it clearly seems that he is speaking for the author:

> A human soul cannot exist under the terrific pressure to which we exposed it. Under such pressure, people turn to slime. We were depraving them in the name of a socialist ideal, but they became depraved without any aim or objective. . . . Then something happened that even the most practical among us could not foresee. . . . As soon as the governed ceased to resist, we also turned to slime. We had contaminated them with a form of moral syphilis, but they in turn contaminated us, and

[1] The Fifth Seal, by Mark Aldanov. Translated by Nicholas Wreden. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 488 pages. $3.

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we became depraved, crippled human derelicts. . . . For their privations, for their hunger, for their enslavement and debasement, for the crippling of their souls, for their own cowardliness, for their inability to resist, they pay us back with a savage, brutal hatred.

That is not unpolitical writing, and neither is it an isolated passage in Aldanov's work. It is true that this disillusionment of an old revolutionist is a theme that might have been treated in a powerful novel. There is, however, one condition that Aldanov or anybody else would have to meet in writing it. After attacking the Communists for sacrificing human lives to abstract social principles—and that has indeed been their gravest fault—he would have to show by example that human lives are valuable in themselves. He would have to present characters of whom we felt that it was shameful and criminal to see them sacrificed, and this is something he completely fails to do. The people he describes are not the martyrs who, in that sixth chapter of Revelation, "cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth." They are cold, scheming and pitiful creatures whose misfortunes, under a dictatorship, were exactly what they had coming to them.

MALCOLM COWLEY

Prince of Denmark

A Short Life of Kierkegaard, by Walter Lowrie. Princeton: The Princeton University Press. 271 pages. $2.75.

IN WALTER LOWRIE'S LITTLE BOOK of 260 pages we have a remarkable phosphorescent condensation of difficult material. Only a man who had struggled with his material so long and so conscientiously, so lovingly, I ought to add—it is his third biography of Kierkegaard—could possibly have achieved this feat of giving us the very essence of the man. "I confess," says the author, "that I cherished the hope of being able for once to achieve such elegant simplicity that this little book might rank among the great biographies, seeing that it deals with so great and interesting a figure. I profess to be his admirer and for a moment I was vain enough to think that perhaps I might become his poet. That proud hope has vanished. Evidently I am only a pedant." A singular admission and, as regards the last statement, immodestly modest. To find a counterpart to this superb study one has to turn to a work that required twenty years' labor, the book on Blake by Milton O. Percival, called "William Blake's Circle of Destiny."

Opening the book in the middle, attracted by a chapter headed "Metamorphosis," I read backwards and forwards like one enthralled. This being the first book I have ever reviewed for a fee, it seemed to me an act of Providence that I should be given this assignment, for to tell the truth, I expected to have a dull time of it. My only regret now is that I haven't more space. I could write a book about the effect which this little book has had upon me.

That up until 1938 nothing of Kierkegaard had been translated into English, as the author avows, seems like a conspiracy of silence—that same "significant silence" which S. K. so eloquently speaks of in his attack on the clergy. "Quite simply—I want honesty." That is how one of his polemics begins. "I am neither severity nor leniency—I am . . . mere human honesty." This is the key to Kierkegaard's character and temperament. Obviously he did not know, when he said "mere human honesty," that he was only emphasizing the vast difference between himself and his fellow men. This passion for being honest made his life a crucifixion.

Essentially, says the author, Kierkegaard had only one thesis, "that Christianity no longer exists." A curious statement, if only because it reminds us of a more famous one—"there was only one Christian and he died on the cross." The warfare between pious believers, or shall we say "pious frauds," and those who try to act out the faith which is in them is eternal. There are correspondences in every realm of human activity. Institutions, whether Church or Party, have always betrayed the spirit they represent. When has the Church ever represented Christ—or the Democracies democracy—or . . . one can continue *ad infinitum*. The reader who wishes to know at once where Kierkegaard stood, why he was the exception and the outsider, and wherein he differs from the revolutionary spirits of our time, should turn first to the pages beginning with "Godly Satire." In commenting upon the silence which greeted his attacks upon the clergy—veritable bombshells for Copenhagen of that day—he remarks that "what concerns the clergy is their livings" (livelihood). But, he adds, it was not this I was aiming at in my attacks. "My attack did not really concern the clergy, *i. e.*, it has nothing to do with what does concern them." A subtle and devastating point.

There are striking parallelisms to the Hamlet theme in Kierkegaard's life history. The important difference is that he emerged victorious—after losing his Ophelia. One is tempted to say—*because* he lost her, or more properly, because he "relinquished" her. This episode with Regina, who was only fourteen when he fell in love with her, is harrowing to read about. After attaining a rare purity of heart (which he defined as "willing one thing"), he resigned himself to the fact that he was condemned to be the exception, and at last comforted himself with the thought that as such he was a "corrective" and, what is more tragic, a "sacrifice." After he had put her from him he writes: "I loved her much, she was as light as a bird, as bold as a thought; I let her rise higher and higher, I stretched out my hand and she perched upon it, and called down to me, 'Here it is glorious,' and she forgot, she did not know that it was I who made her light, I who gave her boldness in thought, faith in me which brought it about that she walked on the water. . . ." A year later he writes: "If I had had faith, I should have remained with Regina." And then comes this: "My engagement to her and the breaking of it is really my relation to God, my engagement to God, if I may dare to say so." In this utterance, granting all the elements of self-delusion—and they exist—we have the clue to the election of a *reality* which marks him out not only as a man of God but as a heroic psychologist, one still ahead of his time.

The two "symbols" which the author puts forward as being "Kierkegaard's last words" (one on "The Wild Goose" and the other on "The Sacrificed Ones") serve, it seems to me, to unite this Prince of Denmark, who was really "a prince of the intellect," with the great revolutionary spirits of all time. Be ever on the alert, he warns—

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if you are a wild goose. Never commit yourself to the tame geese, and thus give them power over you. "For this is the rule—a tame goose never becomes a wild goose, but a wild goose can very well become a tame goose." And with what simplicity, love and understanding, with what a profound conception of man's life on earth he speaks when he says: "A little pinch of spice! That is to say: Here a man must be sacrificed, he is needed to impart a particular taste to the rest." The very last word is Love.

But what a delusion on his part that at the very end of his life he should write: "I have lived in the street, am known to all. . . . I do not belong to any class-egoism." Because, despite all the magnificent things to be said about him, things which cannot be sufficiently stressed, it remains a fact that the good S. K. was a bourgeois to the core. He was a bourgeois who found God, that is the strange and irritating thing. I say nothing about the thirty bottles of wine found in his cellar, but that he lived in the street, no! that I can't swallow, not even though he said it on his deathbed.

HENRY MILLER

Reports from the Pacific

They Call It Pacific, by Clark Lee. New York: The Viking Press. 374 pages. $3.
Singapore Is Silent, by George Weller. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 312 pages. $3.
Southwest Passage, by John Lardner. New York: J. B. Lippincott Company. 302 pages. $3.

GEOGRAPHY LONG AGO made it clear to our navy that there are only three roads for us to Japan—the northern road through the Aleutians, the middle road through Midway and Wake, and the southern road up through Oceania with Australia as a base. Each of these roads has had its enthusiasts on the various boards of strategy, but when we gave Japan a 10-7 ratio at the Washington disarmament conference in 1922, it became apparent to the realists (and the realists were in the majority) that the southern road would be the only one possible to us. Because of a number of military circumstances, it was plain that, if we intended to restrain Japan in the waters shadowed by her home-based fleet, we would require a fleet of at least double hers. In Washington twenty-one years ago, we withdrew except as a fleet "in being" from the Western Pacific until such time as the British fleet was available to help get us back in there.

The Japanese have Oriental patience and they also have —what we on our side seem to lack—an active appreciation of what this war is going to take. The Japs knew that their best chance of winning was to make us sick to our stomachs of trying to beat them. So they waited for nineteen years.

On December 7, 1941, Europe's navies were involved in Europe. The United Nations had only token forces in the Pacific. These tokens were ground up like stale crackers in the war machine Japan set into motion that terrible day. Immediately the blow was struck, it became apparent that the staff officers in our navy who had insisted all along on the southern road to Tokyo were right. In the first place, this was a naval war. Japan was the England of the Pacific and she had to be invaded from the sea. Her land power, like England's, might be dispersed and dissipated over distant areas but, like England, she could not be beaten down while her fleet remained. Airplanes can be part of a winning combination at sea, but they cannot yet replace warships, as Germany discovered when she gambled on air power to subdue sea power and still found herself unable to cross twenty miles of water.

It was a naval war—a war of warships and their partners such as air forces and armies—for other reasons peculiar to the Pacific. It is true that the rich land spaces being fought over in Oceania are vast—continental, in fact, in some cases—and are thickly populated. Malaya, for instance, has about 120,000,000 people on it. But none of these land spaces has the wherewithal within itself to defend itself from aggression from the sea. They are not sufficiently industrialized to wage a modern war. So a buccaneer's war is still good against them, and troops on them and planes and tanks and all the rest of everything except the warships that link them with industrialized areas can do little more than force the opposition to increase the size of its navy.

Well, we did not have the navy December 7 and we had to fall back to Australia, where the Jap navy would be thinned out sufficiently for us to handle it. Australia, as our strategists envisaged it even before 1922 made it inevitable, became the storehouse. The materials for the blitz are being piled up there to wait for the time when we will have the navy to bring it to the places where it can be applied. So the vast areas covered by such names as the Philippines, Singapore and Java were doomed to tragedy. They were the expendables whose cold and relentless task it was to bleed the Jap as much as possible before dying. That was the fact of their situation and they faced the fact. They bled the Jap and they died.

The three books listed here are by correspondents who stood among the expendables on the bloody patches southward through the Philippines, Singapore and Java down to New Guinea. Theirs are eye-witness reports of the grinding up of the human tokens thrown by policy to the Japanese war machine to slow its gears with their flesh.

Lee was in the Philippines and deals with them through two-thirds of his book. He is a reporter, one of the best there ever has been in the Pacific, and he made me feel very proud of being an American newspaperman. I commend all scoffers at the integrity of the American press to the paragraphs describing Lee's adventures in getting to where he could honestly dateline a dispatch, "From the front line on Bataan." He kept faith with his editors and readers, even though they were sitting home at the time moaning about tire rationing. Remember?

Weller is another top-line man in the business. He sticks to Singapore and the Malay Peninsula and his picture of that unmitigated tragedy is wonderfully inked in. This man is not only a reporter but a writer of great sensitivity. His is one of the few books by a newspaperman that is likely to be as good reading a year from now as it is today.

Lardner is also a man to make you proud of the newspaper business, careful, conscientious and honest as iron. He is also a very funny writer. I think he can squeeze more marrow out of the funnybone than anybody else now writing, but this book, while good of its hasty kind, shows only stray signs of this particular talent of his.

IRA WOLFERT

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Cold Pastoral

Lee's Lieutenants: A Study in Command, by Douglas Southall Freeman. Vol I: Manassas to Malvern Hill. Vol. II: Cedar Mountain to Chancellorsville. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 771 and 760 pages. $5 each.

THE THIRD and concluding volume of this work, not yet published, might make a great difference in our judgment of the whole; yet even in these two volumes Mr. Freeman has achieved what nobody could have predicted and what I for one did not believe possible. He has gone again over the ground of his "R. E. Lee," given us the same campaigns and battles, the same scenes and leaders (only more of them), and has succeeded in writing a different book. In what ways it is different is what interests me here. It is, of course, in itself a magnificent story: I am perhaps not a trustworthy witness to the value of Mr. Freeman's treatment, since I can read the story even when it is badly told; and I am not a military critic, who, I suppose, is alone competent to pass final judgment upon this moving story of Lee's subordinates.

But the story of Lee's subordinates is only a part of it, only the overt pretext for telling the greater story again. And there are interesting and even curious features discernible in the tone, style, detail and organization of this work that anybody concerned with the art of narration is entitled to have an opinion of, apart from the military judgment. Why is Mr. Freeman retelling this story? Surely not, as he hints, to give illuminating examples of success and failure to future commanders. His subtitle is "A Study in Command." If it is mainly that, why are we also given a vast amount of rich and hitherto unknown detail about the backgrounds, personal lives and friends of minor officers, and the sights, sounds and smells of battle and camp? These are not the necessary qualities of a technical "study in command." I am not reproaching Mr. Freeman for including all this contingent detail; I am praising him for it; for this is the real substance of his work. The work is not a study in command; it is the complete image of Lee's Army of Northern Virginia projected through the historical imagination.

We have here, I think, in the case of Mr. Freeman, a mind which is not very interesting or resourceful apart from this historical scene; but a mind which is so perfectly saturated with this scene and so perfectly in command of all its minute and shifting detail that even in his digressions he never loses the main thread, because he himself is always holding it, letting it out or drawing it in. But this, indispensable as it is to the structure of his book, is not what makes it go. Nor does the "tone" explain the flow of the narrative: it is the lecturer's tone. Nor is it the style, which is never distinguished and at times is even a little clumsy (Mr. Freeman always puts his adverbs before the auxiliary verbs). But this work, like the "R. E. Lee," has a powerful and convincing movement, and I am somewhat at a loss to understand the power and to know of what I am being convinced.

Is there not something of capital significance in Mr. Freeman's persistent neglect of two great historical factors that most historians would feel compelled to deal with? First, there is the opponent of Lee and his lieutenants, the Federal Army of the Potomac; second, there is the South, a people or even a nation at war. The curious thing in Mr. Freeman's two great works is that Lee's army is not fighting another army, for that army only occasionally appears in an incidental reference or in a footnote: we seldom know, unless we already know, who its commander is, and we almost never know its position and formidable numbers as Lee's men advance to the attack. Moreover, if Lee and his subordinates are not fighting anybody, they are equally not fighting for anybody: the South scarcely exists in Mr. Freeman's War Between the States—only Virginia, and Virginia not very distinctly. What then is all this war about? There is no war in Mr. Freeman's magnificent reconstructions of this ragged gray army of the Golden Age.

It seems to me that the secret of Mr. Freeman's great success as an historian is not his overwhelming documentation, his mastery of historical method; it lies quite simply in his own peculiar romanticism. Lee's army is here cut off forever in a kind of "cold pastoral" not only from the time of its action but from all history: it has become assimilated to a very great poetic convention, that of the Golden Age, in which we may all, North and South, and men everywhere, participate, a Platonic world in which historical men achieve a Homeric stature. The finest image of this is doubtless Marvell's

> The Mind, that Ocean where each kind
> Does streight its own resemblance find;
> Yet it creates, transcending these,
> Far other worlds and other seas. . . .

I am suggesting that in addition to the solid knowledge of his period that Mr. Freeman gives us, he has something of the sensibility of a poet; but of this I suspect that he must be wholly unaware; and I am not sure that he ought to be aware of it. Never mind; he will not be. Too many people have told him that he is a historian—which, of course, he is.

ALLEN TATE

Is There a German Disease?

Is Germany Incurable? by Richard M. Brickner, M.D. Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Company. 318 pages. $3.

THE PSYCHIATRIST performs a service when he attempts to throw the light of his professional knowledge of human nature on social problems. Hitler and his satellites, and Germany under their leadership, are talking and acting in a way that in an individual would readily be recognized by the doctor as paranoid. Dr. Brickner, by means of an unusually lucid picture of the paranoid personality in non-technical language, makes this clear. The diagnosis is illuminating and ought to assist understanding of how to deal with the enemy both during the war and after the peace arrives.

But the author goes much further than this. His thesis is that the core of German culture has been paranoid for generations, and he adduces as evidence quotations from certain German writers and statesmen—mainly the pan-Germans—as well as observations of German character and customs by visiting laymen. It is easy to accumulate evi-

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dence of this kind if one looks only for it, but such an accumulation can hardly have a weight beyond that of special pleading. Two major questions, at least, must arise in the mind of the critical reader. First, how representative of Germany before Hitler are the samples cited? Second, if one uses a technical medical term like paranoia to characterize a kind of human behavior so broad as to include all authoritative, hierarchical, warlike and extremely nationalistic traits, does it not lose its useful meaning?

The author verbally recognizes, but brushes aside as without significance, the fact that traits of a different character could also be found among the German people, and that the Germans have not had a monopoly of mystical belief in racial or national supremacy. But if it is once admitted that there is an admixture of influences in both German and other cultures, and that these trends are broadly human, then the inquiry important for knowledge and action is altered from the simple identification of one trend which happens to be dominant. One cannot infer that because it is dominant at a given period and because strong traces of it can be found previously, it always has been dominant and its preëminence was foreordained. Quantitative considerations become important, and it is necessary to ask how it happened that the culture developed as it did. This is what the skilled psychiatrist has to discover about the individual personality if he is to treat the patient intelligently.

Dr. Brickner admits this type of consideration to his brief final chapter, in which he discusses possible cures. But the body of the book has failed to prepare the reader for such a discussion. Nowhere, for instance, is there a reference to the fact that before Hitler assumed power he never received the votes of a majority of the German people. Nor is there understanding of the enormous influence of environ-

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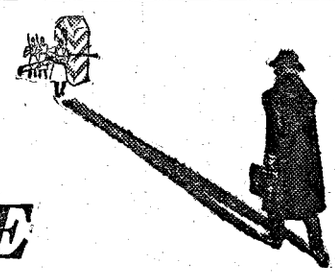

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mental factors such as the inflation and the pre-war depression. The weight of the argument is rather directed to proving that Hitlerism, under whatever name, was supreme in Germany for decades if not for centuries, and that events of the past thirty years have had little to do with it. From such an argument, the layman is likely to conclude that Germany is incurable and that there is no hope for the world except from a Carthaginian peace. Yet Dr. Brickner himself is psychiatrist enough to believe that the only hope is to build on the Germans who are not paranoid and, by conditioning, to encourage a cure from within.

GEORGE SOULE

Journeyman of Revolution

Citizen Tom Paine, by Howard Fast. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 341 pages. $2.75.

TO HIS GROWING PORTRAIT GALLERY of the American Revolution Howard Fast now adds a full-length, unvarnished picture of the man whom Theodore Roosevelt in arrogance and ignorance once called a "a filthy little atheist." With adequate recognition of the warts upon Paine's character, Fast presents sympathetically this sometime staymaker, resident of Gin Alley, editor, soldier, inventor, politico and always pamphleteer and journeyman of revolution. Particularly good are those passages in which the disheveled and frequently drunken Englishman arouses the American colonists to transform their uprising into revolution and then sustains them by his writing and example to carry through to victory. Less successful are the episodes of Paine's last years when a bewildering succession of scenes and characters flit through the book. Fast, however, has blocked in the background of a turbulent era with an understanding of its historical complexity, and the figure of Paine is never lost in the carpet of social and intellectual forces which embraces it. It is a masterful drawing done in a prose as sharp and clean and as loving of its medium as the pen of a Daumier or an Ingres.

But it remains a line drawing, with all the virtues and limitations of the medium, whereas we have long needed a full-dress oil of the man and his age—a Life and Times by a master that will rectify, illuminate and refurbish the vituperative, pedestrian and outmoded work of Paine's earlier biographers. Possibly the difficulty lies with the subject; for Paine the writer is far more alive than the man, indeed is the man, and although his personality and his story are fascinating, it is in "Common Sense," "The Rights of Man" and "The Age of Reason" that his enduring importance lies. Although Howard Fast's fictionalized biographies are not the bastard things such products usually are, his method raises questions to which there are no satisfying answers, and I am by no means certain that he gains in not accepting the limitations (and the possible riches) of straightforward biography. The novel is one of man's greatest achievements, but there is no reason to believe that it transcends biography, which has an older and equally honest place among the arts of creation. To reply with Shakespeare and Tolstoy is no answer; for if Fast is to deal with historical characters after their fashion, we might require from him an Enobarbus or a Natasha.

GEORGE MAYBERRY

A Reader's List

SOCIAL SECURITY AND RECONSTRUCTION IN CANADA, by Harry M. Cassidy (Bruce Humphries, $2.50). The introduction of a broad social-security measure in the Canadian parliament gives point to this careful survey of Canada's experience and requirements in this field. The author, professor of Social Welfare at the University of California, uses American laws as a partial yardstick for Canada. Canada has little literature on the subject and the book is a welcome contribution, valuable on both sides of the border.

PLANNING: Two Hundred and Third Issue (Political and Economic Planning, available from The New Republic, 25 cents). This excellent pamphlet deals with a charter for child welfare in England to counter the growing disinclination for parenthood and the development of nursery education. The charter has a three-point platform: the abolition of childhood poverty by a system of children's allowances, a "unified and comprehensive" system of health services and the building up of a system of nursery schools within the public educational system.

EXPERIMENT PERILOUS, by Margaret Carpenter (Little, Brown, $2). Though several reviewers have compared "Experiment Perilous" to "Before the Fact," actually the only resemblance is form—they are both psychological thrillers. Francis Iles's characters were so convincing and their actions so inevitable that the reader was drawn into complete participation with the actors. Miss Carpenter's villain and victim, unfortunately, are bores, and though all hell breaks loose, it doesn't seem to matter.

Contributors

VARIAN FRY was for three years editor of the Headline Books, published by the Foreign Policy Association. He was editor of The Living Age when that magazine was an independent publication.

ARTHUR HEPNER is on the editorial staff of a New York City newspaper.

BEKA DOHERTY, who is Mrs. Hepner in private life, is a staff member of Medical Administration Service, Inc.

IRVING DILLIARD has been an editorial writer for The St. Louis Post-Dispatch since 1930.

DON GORDON has contributed poems to many national magazines and anthologies. A book of verse, "Statement," is soon to be published by Bruce Humphries, Inc.

H. N. BRAILSFORD is a widely known British writer on history, economics and international affairs. He is a contributing editor of The New Republic.

HENRY MILLER, the author of "The Cosmological Eye," "The Colossus of Maroussi" and "Tropic of Capricorn," is living in California and working on a sequel to the latter book, "The Rosy Crucifixion."

IRA WOLFERT is now on his second assignment covering the Pacific war front for the North American Newspaper Alliance. His first assignment produced "The Battle for the Solomons," published in January by Houghton Mifflin. His first novel, "Tucker's People," has just been published by L. B. Fischer and was reviewed in The New Republic of May 3.

ALLEN TATE has published several books of poetry, fiction and criticism and has also written biographies of Jefferson Davis and Stonewall Jackson. From 1939 until 1942 he was a Resident Fellow in the Creative Arts Program at Princeton University.

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